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CLASSICS

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HERODOTUS

BOOK IX

EDITED

WITH NOTES

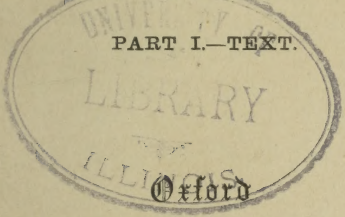
BY

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IN TWO PARTS

PART I.—TEXT.



Oxford

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London
HENRY FROWDE



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PREFACE.

In preparing this Edition I have relied most on the Lexicon of Schweighaüser and the editions of Bähr and Stein, of which the first is the most comprehensive, the second perhaps the most useful, of all the editions of Herodotus (in the Greek) that I have seen.

In the text I have found myself compelled to differ from Stein in regard to the class of MSS. known as R. S. V. That the readings of this class are often more forcible than those of A, B, C (= M. P. F.) is an admitted fact. Cobet strongly supports the class (using R. to the exclusion of S. and V. and therefore often falling into mistakes); and even Abicht the declared enemy of the class, adopts readings from it by the dozen. Stein considers that these excellent readings are due to the conjectures of a writer in the twelfth century; but Wehrmann, in his programme *De Romani codicis auctoritate*, has shown that there is reason to think the text of the R. class of MSS. is far older than this theory assumes.

On the other hand, I have not gone so far as Cobet, Gomperz, or Kallenberg in introducing emendations. Those which I have admitted are marked with an

asterisk; and where the text seems to me unsound, I have inserted an obelisk.

Further information will be found in the critical note appended to Part II.

In the first appendix I have compared the three accounts which have come down to us of the movements which preceded the Battle of Plataea. In every point Herodotus seems to me the most intelligent and trustworthy guide, though he certainly does not write with the precision of a military officer. In the second appendix I have collected some characteristics of the book, and the author. The map of the battlefield is copied from that in Col. Leake's *Northern Greece*, vol. ii.

E. A.

OXFORD, *September*, 1887.

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BOOK IX.

SUMMARY.

Plataea, cc. 1–89.

C. 1. Mardonius leaves Thessaly.
2. Mardonius in Boeotia.
3. Mardonius captures Athens.
4. Morychides sent to Salamis.
5. His proposals rejected. Death of Lycidas.
6. Athenian embassy to Sparta.
7. Speech of the envoys at Sparta.
8. Delay of the Ephors.
9. Speech of Chileus of Tegea.
10. Dispatch of a Spartan force.
11. Departure of the envoys.
12. The Argives warn Mardonius.
13. Mardonius devastates Attica.
14. Mardonius advances into the Megarid.
15. He retires into Boeotia, and encamps on the Asopus.
16. Banquet of Attaginus at Thebes.
17. The Phocians join Mardonius.
18. Trial of their valour.
19. The Greeks advance from the Isthmus to Erythrae in Boeotia.
20. Attack of the Persian horse under Masistius.
21. Distress of the Megarians. The Athenians come to the rescue.
22. Death of Masistius.
23. Severe conflict for his body.
24. Lamentations for Masistius.
25. The Greeks change their position, to Plataea.
26. The Tegeatae claim the left wing.
27. The Athenians claim it.
28. Arrangement of the Greek forces.
29. The light armed.
30. Number of the army.

C. 31. Advance of the Persians. Arrangement of their army.
32. Number of the Persian army.
33. Tisamenus, the seer of the Spartans.
34. [Melampus at Argos.]
35. The five victories of Tisamenus.
36. Neither side can advance.
37. Hegesistratus, the seer of Mardonius.
38. Advice of Timegenidas to Mardonius.
39. The pass of Dryoscephalae seized by Mardonius.
40. Continued delay.
41. Consultation of Artabazus and Mardonius.
42. Mardonius quotes the oracle about Delphi.
43. True application of this oracle.
44. Alexander of Macedon at the Athenian outposts.
45. His warning to the Greeks that the Persians intend to attack.
46. The Athenians and Spartans attempt to change places.
47. But the attempt is frustrated.
48. Mardonius challenges the Lacedaemonians.
49. Attack of the Persian horse.
50. The Greeks determine to fall back still nearer Plataea.
51. The 'Island.'
52. The centre retreats past the Island, to the Heraeum.
53. Amompharetus refuses to retire.
54. The Athenians watch the Spartans.
55. Difficult position of Pausanias.
56. The Athenians and Spartans retire.
57. Third position of the Greeks on the Moloeis, etc.
58. Mardonius' opinion of the Lacedaemonians.
59. Attack of the Persians on the Lacedaemonians.
60. The Athenians attacked by the Greek allies of Mardonius. Critical position of Pausanias.
61. The Battle of Plataea.
62. The Battle continued.
63. Death of Mardonius.
64. Victory of Pausanias.
65. The Persians fly to their camp.
66. Treachery of Artabazus.
67. Defeat of the Greek allies, who fly to Thebes.
68. The horse aid the fugitives.
69. The Greeks at the Heraeum hasten to the scene. Slaughter of the Megarians and Phliasians.
70. Battle at the fortified camp. Immense slaughter.

C. 71. Names of distinguished combatants.
72. Callicrates.
73. Sophanes of Decelea.
74. His anchor.
75. Other achievements of Sophanes.
76. The Coan concubine of Pharandates.
77. The arrival of the Mantineans and Eleans.
78. Lampon of Aegina proposes to Pausanias to crucify the body of Mardonius.
79. Reply of Pausanias.
80. Spoil in the Persian camp.
81. Division of the spoil. Offerings.
82. The Persian and Spartan meal.
83. Remarkable facts about some of the bodies.
84. Who buried Mardonius?
85. Burial of the Greeks.
86. The Greek army at Thebes.
87. Timegenidas and Attaginus given up.
88. Attaginus escapes. Death of Timegenidas.
89. Artabazus reaches Byzantium.

Mycale, etc., cc. 90–122.

90. Samian envoys at Delos.
91. Leotychidas agrees to their request.
92. Deiphonus, the seer.
93. Account of Evenius of Apollonia.
94. Account of Evenius continued.
95. Doubts concerning Deiphonus.
96. The Persians determine not to fight at sea.
97. They proceed to Mycale, and land there.
98. The Greeks follow. Leotychidas and the Ionians.
99. Precautions of the Persians in regard to the Samians and Milesians.
100. Rumour of the victory at Plataea.
101. Coincidences at Plataea and Mycale.
102. The Athenians, etc. attack the Persians.
103. The Lacedaemonians and Samians.
104. The Milesians.
105. Names of distinguished combatants.
106. The Greeks discuss the restoration of Ionia.
107. Quarrel of Masistes and Artayntes.
108. Xerxes and the wife of Masistes.
109. Xerxes and the daughter of Masistes.

C. 110. Amestris and Xerxes.
111. Xerxes and Masistes.
112. Revenge of Amestris.
113. Death of Masistes.
114. The Greek fleet at the Hellespont.
115. Oeobazus at Sestus.
116. Artayctes and the temple of Protesilaus.
117. Siege of Sestos.
118. Flight of Oeobazus and Artayctes.
119. Death of Oeobazus. Capture of Artayctes.
120. Crucifixion of Artayctes.
121. Return of the Greek fleet.
122. Cyrus on the effect of territory on the inhabitants.

HERODOTUS.

BOOK IX.

[479 B.C. June—Winter.]

cc. 1–3. *Mardonius advances from Thessaly into Boeotia. He is advised by the Thebans to use money rather than force, but, rejecting their suggestions, he advances to Athens, which he finds deserted, the Athenians having retired to Salamis. Athens captured a second time.*

ΜΑΡΔΟΝΙΟΣ δέ, ὡς οἱ ἀπονοστήσας Ἀλέξανδρος IX.
τὰ παρὰ Ἀθηναίων ἐσήμηνε, ὁρμηθεὶς ἐκ Θεσσαλίης
ἦγε τὴν στρατιὴν σπουδῇ ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας· ὅκου δὲ
ἑκάστοτε γίνοιτο, τούτους παρελάμβανε. τοῖσι δὲ Θεσ-
σαλίης ἡγεομένοισι οὔτε τὰ πρὸ τοῦ πεπρηγμένα μετ- 5
έμελε οὐδὲν πολλῷ τε μᾶλλον ἐπῆγον τὸν Πέρσην, καὶ
συμπροέπεμψέ τε Θώρηξ ὁ Ληρισαῖος Ξέρξην φεύγοντα
καὶ τότε ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ παρῆκε Μαρδόνιον ἐπὶ τὴν
Ἑλλάδα. ἐπεὶ δὲ πορευόμενος γίνεται ὁ στρατὸς ἐν 2
Βοιωτοῖσι, οἱ Θηβαῖοι κατελάμβανον τὸν Μαρδόνιον
καὶ συνεβούλευον αὐτῷ λέγοντες ὡς οὐκ εἴη χῶρος
ἐπιτηδεότερος ἐνστρατοπεδεύεσθαι ἐκείνου, οὐδὲ ἕων
ἰέναι ἑκαστέρω, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἱζόμενον ποιέειν ὅκως ἁμα- 5
χητὶ τὴν πᾶσαν Ἑλλάδα * καταστρέψεται. κατὰ μὲν
γὰρ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν Ἕλληνας ὁμοφρονέοντας, οἵ περ καὶ
πάρος ταὐτὰ ἐγίνωσκον, χαλεπὰ εἶναι περιγίνεσθαι καὶ
ἅπασι ἀνθρώποισι· Εἰ δὲ ποιήσεις τὰ ἡμεῖς παραινέο-
μεν, ἔφασαν λέγοντες, ἔξεις ἀπόνως ἅπαντα τὰ ἐκείνων 10

IX. ἰσχυρὰ βουλεύματα. πέμπε χρήματα ἐς τοὺς δυναστεύοντας ἄνδρας ἐν τῇσι πόλισι, πέμπων δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα διαστήσεις· ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ τοὺς μὴ τὰ σὰ φρονέοντας ῥηιδίως μετὰ τῶν στασιωτέων καταστρέψεαι. οἱ μὲν ταῦτα συνεβούλευον, ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐπείθετο, ἀλλά οἱ δεινός τις ἐνέστακτο ἵμερος τὰς Ἀθήνας δεύτερα ἑλεῖν, ἅμα μὲν ὑπ' ἀγνωμοσύνης, ἅμα δὲ πυρσοῖσι διὰ νήσων ἐδόκεε βασιλέϊ δηλώσειν ἐόντι ἐν Σάρδισι ὅτι ἔχοι Ἀθήνας. ὃς οὐδὲ τότε ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν εὗρε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἀλλ' ἔν τε Σαλαμῖνι τοὺς πλείστους ἐπυνθάνετο εἶναι ἔν τε τῇσι νησί, αἱρέει τε ἔρημον τὸ ἄστυ. ἡ δὲ βασιλέος αἵρεσις ἐς τὴν ὑστέρην τὴν Μαρδονίου ἐπιστρατηίην δεκάμηνος ἐγένετο.

cc. 4, 5. *Mardonius renews his proposals to the Athenians at Salamis. Lycidas, a senator who wished the matter to be laid before the people, is stoned to death, and his wife and children also.*

4 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν Ἀθήνῃσι ἐγένετο ὁ Μαρδόνιος, πέμπει ἐς Σαλαμῖνα Μουρυχίδην ἄνδρα Ἑλλησπόντιον φέροντα τοὺς αὐτοὺς λόγους τοὺς καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδὼν τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι διεπόρθμευσε. ταῦτα δὲ τὸ δεύτερον ἀπέστελλε προέχων μὲν τῶν Ἀθηναίων οὐ φιλίας γνώμας, ἐλπίσας δέ σφεας ὑπήσειν τῆς ἀγνωμοσύνης ὡς δοριαλώτου ἐούσης τῆς Ἀττικῆς χώρης καὶ ἐούσης ὑπ' ἑωυτῷ. τούτων μὲν εἵνεκα ἀπέπεμψε Μουρυχίδην ἐς Σαλαμῖνα· ὁ δὲ ἀπικόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἔλεγε τὰ παρὰ Μαρδονίου. τῶν δὲ βουλευτέων Λυκίδης εἶπε γνώμην ὡς ἐδόκεε ἄμεινον εἶναι δεξαμένους τὸν λόγον τόν σφι Μουρυχίδης προφέρει ἐξενεῖκαι ἐς τὸν δῆμον. ὁ μὲν δὴ ταύτην τὴν γνώμην ἀπεφαίνετο, εἴτε δὴ δεδεγμένος χρήματα παρὰ Μαρδονίου, εἴτε καὶ ταῦτά οἱ

ἐάνδανε· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ αὐτίκα δεινὸν ποιησάμενοι, οἵ τε IX.
ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ οἱ ἔξωθεν, ὡς ἐπύθοντο, περιστάντες
Λυκίδην κατέλευσαν βάλλοντες, τὸν δὲ Ἑλλησπόντιον
Μουρυχίδην ἀπέπεμψαν ἀσινέα. γενομένου δὲ θορύβου
ἐν τῇ Σαλαμῖνι περὶ τὸν Λυκίδην, πυνθάνονται τὸ γινό-
μενον αἱ γυναῖκες τῶν Ἀθηναίων, διακελευσαμένη δὲ
γυνὴ γυναικὶ καὶ παραλαβοῦσα ἐπὶ τὴν Λυκίδεω οἰκίην
ἦισαν αὐτοκελέες, καὶ κατὰ μὲν ἔλευσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν
γυναῖκα, κατὰ δὲ τὰ τέκνα.

cc. 6, 7. *When the Peloponnesians delayed to come to their rescue, the Athenians retired to Salamis, and sent envoys to Lacedaemon to remonstrate.*

Ἐς δὲ τὴν Σαλαμῖνα διέβησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὧδε· ἕως 6
μὲν προσεδέκοντο ἐκ τῆς Πελοποννήσου στρατὸν ἥξειν
τιμωρήσοντά σφι, οἱ δὲ ἔμενον ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ· ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ
μὲν μακρότερά τε καὶ σχολαίτερα ἐποίεον, ὁ δὲ ἐπιὼν καὶ
δὴ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίῃ ἐλέγετο εἶναι, οὕτω δὴ ὑπεξεκομίσαντό
τε πάντα καὶ αὐτοὶ διέβησαν ἐς Σαλαμῖνα, ἐς Λακεδαί-
μονά τε ἔπεμπον ἀγγέλους ἅμα μὲν μεμψομένους τοῖσι
Λακεδαιμονίοισι ὅτι περιεῖδον ἐμβαλόντα τὸν βάρβαρον
ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀλλ' οὐ μετὰ σφέων ἠντίασαν ἐς τὴν
Βοιωτίην, ἅμα δὲ ὑπομνήσοντας ὅσα σφι ὑπέσχετο ὁ
Πέρσης μεταβαλοῦσι δώσειν, προεῖπαί τε ὅτι εἰ μὴ
ἀμυνεῦσι Ἀθηναίοισι, ὡς καὶ αὐτοί τινα ἀλεωρὴν εὑρή-
σονται. οἱ γὰρ δὴ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὄρταζόν τε τοῦτον τὸν 7
χρόνον καί σφι ἦν Ὑακίνθια, περὶ πλείστου δ' ἦγον τὰ
τοῦ θεοῦ πορσύνειν· ἅμα δὲ τὸ τεῖχός σφι, τὸ ἐν τῷ
Ἰσθμῷ ἐτείχεον, καὶ δὴ ἐπάλξις ἐλάμβανε. ὡς δὲ
ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα οἱ ἄγγελοι οἱ ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων,
ἅμα ἀγόμενοι ἔκ τε Μεγάρων ἀγγέλους καὶ ἐκ Πλαταιέων,
ἔλεγον τάδε ἐπελθόντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους· Ἔπεμψαν

IX. ἡμέας Ἀθηναῖοι λέγοντες ὅτι ἡμῖν βασιλεὺς ὁ Μήδων τοῦτο μὲν τὴν χώρην ἀποδιδοῖ, τοῦτο δὲ συμμάχους ἐθέλει ἐπ' ἴσῃ τε καὶ ὁμοίῃ ποιήσασθαι ἄνευ τε δόλου καὶ ἀπάτης, ἐθέλει δὲ καὶ ἄλλην χώρην πρὸς τῇ ἡμετέρῃ διδόναι, τὴν ἂν αὐτοὶ ἑλώμεθα. ἡμεῖς δὲ Δία τε Ἑλλήνιον αἰδεσθέντες καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα δεινὸν ποιεύμενοι προδοῦναι οὐ καταινέσαμεν ἀλλ' ἀπειπάμεθα, καίπερ ἀδικεόμενοι ὑπ' Ἑλλήνων καὶ καταπροδιδόμενοι ἐπιστάμενοί τε ὅτι κερδαλεώτερόν ἐστι ὁμολογέειν τῷ Πέρσῃ μᾶλλον ἤ περ πολεμέειν· οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ ὁμολογήσομεν ἑκόντες εἶναι. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀπ' ἡμέων οὕτω ἀκίβδηλον νέμεται ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας. ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐς πᾶσαν ἀρρωδίην τότε ἀπικόμενοι μὴ ὁμολογήσωμεν τῷ Πέρσῃ, ἐπείτε ἐξεμάθετε τὸ ἡμέτερον φρόνημα σαφέως, ὅτι οὐδαμὰ προδώσομεν τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ διότι τεῖχος ὑμῖν διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ἐλαυνόμενον ἐν τέλεϊ ἐστι, καὶ δὴ λόγον οὐδένα τῶν Ἀθηναίων ποιέεσθε, συνθέμενοί τε ἡμῖν τὸν Πέρσην ἀντιώσεσθαι ἐς τὴν Βοιωτίην προδεδώκατε, περιείδετέ τε ἐσβαλόντα ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν τὸν βάρβαρον. ἐς μέν νυν τὸ παρεὸν Ἀθηναῖοι ὑμῖν μηνίουσι· οὐ γὰρ ἐποιήσατε ἐπιτηδέως. νῦν δὲ ὅτι τάχος στρατιὴν ἅμα ἡμῖν ἐκέλευσαν ὑμέας ἐκπέμπειν, ὡς ἂν τὸν βάρβαρον δεκώμεθα ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἡμάρτομεν τῆς Βοιωτίης, τῆς γε ἡμετέρης ἐπιτηδεότατόν ἐστι ἐμμαχέσασθαι τὸ Θριάσιον πεδίον.

cc. 8, 9. *The ephors delay their answer for ten days, awaiting the completion of the wall across the isthmus; but they are finally roused by Chileus to send out help at once.*

8 Ὡς δὲ ἄρα ἤκουσαν οἱ ἔφοροι ταῦτα, ἀνεβάλλοντο ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίην ὑποκρίνασθαι, τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίῃ ἐς τὴν

ἑτέρην. τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ δέκα ἡμέρας ἐποίεον, ἐξ ἡμέ- IX.
ρης ἐς ἡμέρην ἀναβαλλόμενοι. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ
τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἐτείχεον σπουδὴν ἔχοντες πολλὴν πάντες
Πελοποννήσιοι, καί σφι ἦν πρὸς τέλεϊ. οὐδ' ἔχω εἰπεῖν
τὸ αἴτιον διότι ἀπικομένου μὲν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακε-
δόνος ἐς Ἀθήνας σπουδὴν μεγάλην ἐποιήσαντο μὴ
μηδίσαι Ἀθηναίους, τότε δὲ ὥρην ἐποιήσαντο οὐδεμίαν,
ἄλλο γε ἢ ὅτι ὁ Ἰσθμός σφι ἐτετείχιστο καὶ ἐδόκεον
Ἀθηναίων ἔτι δέεσθαι οὐδέν· ὅτε δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπίκετο
ἐς τὴν Ἀττικήν, οὔκω ἀπετετείχιστο, ἐργάζοντο δὲ μεγά-
λως καταρρωδηκότες τοὺς Πέρσας. τέλος δὲ τῆς τε
ὑποκρίσιος καὶ ἐξόδου τῶν Σπαρτιητέων ἐγένετο τρόπος
τοιόσδε· τῇ προτεραίῃ τῆς ὑστάτης καταστάσιος μελ-
λούσης ἔσεσθαι Χίλεος ἀνὴρ Τεγεήτης, δυνάμενος ἐν
Λακεδαίμονι μέγιστον ξείνων, τῶν ἐφόρων ἐπύθετο
πάντα λόγον, τὸν δὴ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔλεγον. ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ
Χίλεος ἔλεγε ἄρα σφι τάδε· Οὕτω ἔχει, ἄνδρες ἔφοροι·
Ἀθηναίων ἡμῖν ἐόντων μὴ ἀρθμίων, τῷ δὲ βαρβάρῳ
συμμάχων, καίπερ τείχεος διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ἐληλαμένου
κρατεροῦ, μεγάλαι κλισιάδες ἀναπεπτέαται ἐς τὴν
Πελοπόννησον τῷ Πέρσῃ. ἀλλ' ἐσακούσατε, πρίν τι
ἄλλο Ἀθηναίοισι δόξαι σφάλμα φέρον τῇ Ἑλλάδι.

cc. 10–12. 5000 *Spartans and* 35,000 *helots are sent against Mardonius, under Pausanias, and next morning the envoys are informed of their departure. The envoys hasten after them.* 5000 *Perioeci are also sent.*

Ὁ μέν σφι ταῦτα συνεβούλευε· οἱ δὲ φρενὶ λαβόντες
τὸν λόγον αὐτίκα, φράσαντες οὐδὲν τοῖσι ἀγγέλοισι τοῖσι
ἀπιγμένοισι ἀπὸ τῶν πολίων, νυκτὸς ἔτι ἐκπέμπουσι
πεντακισχιλίους Σπαρτιητέων καὶ ἑπτὰ περὶ ἕκαστον
τάξαντες τῶν εἰλώτων, Παυσανίῃ τῷ Κλεομβρότου

IX. ἐπιτρέψαντες ἐξάγειν. ἐγίνετο μέν νυν ἡ ἡγεμονίη Πλειστάρχου τοῦ Λεωνίδεω. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἦν ἔτι παῖς, ὁ δὲ τούτου ἐπίτροπός τε καὶ ἀνεψιός. Κλεόμβροτος γὰρ ὁ Παυσανίεω μὲν πατήρ, Ἀναξανδρίδεω δὲ παῖς οὐκέτι περιῆν, ἀλλ' ἀπαγαγὼν ἐκ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ τὴν στρατιὴν τὴν τὸ τεῖχος δείμασαν μετὰ ταῦτα οὐ πολλόν τινα χρόνον βιοὺς ἀπέθανε. ἀπῆγε δὲ τὴν στρατιὴν ὁ Κλεόμβροτος ἐκ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ διὰ τόδε· θυομένῳ οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ Πέρσῃ ὁ ἥλιος ἀμαυρώθη ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ. προσαιρέεται δὲ ἑωυτῷ Παυσανίης Εὐρυάνακτα τὸν Δωριέος, ἄνδρα οἰκίης ἐόντα τῆς αὐτῆς. οἱ μὲν δὴ σὺν Παυσανίῃ ἐξεληλύθεσαν ἔξω Σπάρτης· οἱ δὲ ἄγγελοι, ὡς ἡμέρη ἐγεγόνεε, οὐδὲν εἰδότες περὶ τῆς ἐξόδου ἐπῆλθον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους, ἐν νόῳ δὴ ἔχοντες ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἑωυτοῦ ἕκαστος· ἐπελθόντες δὲ ἔλεγον τάδε· Ὑμεῖς μέν, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, αὐτοῦ τῇδε μένοντες Ὑακίνθιά τε ἄγετε καὶ παίζετε, καταπροδόντες τοὺς συμμάχους· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ὡς ἀδικεόμενοι ὑπὸ ὑμέων χήτεί τε συμμάχων καταλύσονται τῷ Πέρσῃ οὕτω ὅκως ἂν δύνωνται. καταλυσάμενοι δέ, δῆλα γὰρ ὅτι σύμμαχοι βασιλέος γινόμεθα, συστρατευσόμεθα ἐπ' ἢν ἂν ἐκεῖνοι ἐξηγέωνται. ὑμεῖς δὲ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν μαθήσεσθε ὁκοῖον ἄν τι ὑμῖν ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐκβαίνῃ. ταῦτα λεγόντων τῶν ἀγγέλων οἱ ἔφοροι εἶπαν ἐπ' ὅρκου καὶ δὴ δοκέειν εἶναι ἐν Ὀρεσθείῳ στείχοντας ἐπὶ τοὺς ξείνους· ξείνους γὰρ ἐκάλεον τοὺς βαρβάρους. οἱ δὲ ὡς οὐκ εἰδότες ἐπειρώτων τὸ λεγόμενον, ἐπειρόμενοι δὲ ἐξέμαθον πᾶν τὸ ἐόν, ὥστε ἐν θώματι γενόμενοι ἐπορεύοντο τὴν ταχίστην διώκοντες· σὺν δέ σφι τῶν περιοίκων Λακεδαιμονίων λογάδες πεντακισχίλιοι ὁπλῖται τὠυτὸ τοῦτο ἐποίεον.

cc. 12, 13. *The Argives send warning of the despatch of these forces to Mardonius, who, on hearing it, having no hope that the Athenians will now listen to him, destroys Athens, ravages Attica, and retires into Boeotia.* **IX.**

Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἠπείγοντο· Ἀργεῖοι δὲ **12**
ἐπείτε τάχιστα ἐπύθοντο τοὺς μετὰ Παυσανίεω ἐξελη-
λυθότας ἐκ Σπάρτης, πέμπουσι κήρυκα τῶν ἡμεροδρόμων
ἀνευρόντες τὸν ἄριστον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικήν, πρότερον αὐτοὶ
Μαρδονίῳ ὑποδεξάμενοι σχήσειν τὸν Σπαρτιήτην μὴ
ἐξιέναι· ὃς ἐπείτε ἀπίκετο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἔλεγε τάδε·
Μαρδόνιε, ἔπεμψάν με Ἀργεῖοι φράσοντά τοι ὅτι ἐκ
Λακεδαίμονος ἐξελήλυθε ἡ νεότης, καὶ ὡς οὐ δυνατοὶ
αὐτὴν ἴσχειν εἰσὶ Ἀργεῖοι μὴ οὐκ ἐξιέναι. πρὸς ταῦτα
τύγχανε εὖ βουλευόμενος. ὁ μὲν δὴ εἶπας ταῦτα ἀπαλ- **13**
λάσσετο ὀπίσω, Μαρδόνιος δὲ οὐδαμῶς ἔτι πρόθυμος
ἦν μένειν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, ὡς ἤκουσε ταῦτα. πρὶν μέν
νυν ἢ πυθέσθαι ἀνεκώχευε, θέλων εἰδέναι τὸ παρ' Ἀθη-
ναίων, ὁκοῖόν τι ποιήσουσι, καὶ οὔτε ἐπήμαινε οὔτε
ἐσίνετο γῆν τὴν Ἀττικήν, ἐλπίζων διὰ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου
ὁμολογήσειν σφέας· ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθε, πυθόμενος
πάντα λόγον, πρὶν ἢ τοὺς μετὰ Παυσανίεω ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν
ἐσβαλεῖν, ὑπεξεχώρεε ἐμπρήσας τε τὰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ εἴ
κού τι ὀρθὸν ἦν τῶν τειχέων ἢ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἢ τῶν
ἱρῶν, πάντα καταβαλὼν καὶ συγχώσας. ἐξήλαυνε δὲ
τῶνδε εἵνεκεν, ὅτι οὔτε ἱππασίμη ἡ χώρη ἦν ἡ Ἀττική,
εἴ τε νικῷτο συμβαλών, ἀπάλλαξις οὐκ ἦν ὅτι μὴ κατὰ
στεινόν, ὥστε καὶ ὀλίγους σφέας ἀνθρώπους ἴσχειν.
ἐβουλεύετο ὧν ἐπαναχωρήσας ἐς τὰς Θήβας συμβαλεῖν
πρὸς πόλι τε φιλίῃ καὶ *ἐν χώρῃ ἱππασίμῳ.

IX. cc. 14, 15. *But hearing that* 1000 *Lacedaemonians had advanced as far as Megara, he makes a dash at them; then, on the approach of the main force, retires by Decelea into the Thebaid, where he establishes a fortified camp.*

14 Μαρδόνιος μὲν δὴ ὑπεξεχώρεε, ἤδη δὲ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἐόντι αὐτῷ ἦλθε ἀγγελίη *πρόδρομον ἄλλην στρατιὴν ἥκειν ἐς Μέγαρα, Λακεδαιμονίων χιλίους. πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ἐβουλεύετο, θέλων εἴ κως τούτους πρῶτον ἕλοι. ὑποστρέψας δὴ τὴν στρατιὴν ἦγε ἐπὶ τὰ Μέγαρα· ἡ δὲ ἵππος προελθοῦσα κατιππάσατο χώρην τὴν Μεγαρίδα. ἐς ταύτην δὴ ἑκαστάτω τῆς Εὐρώπης τὸ πρὸς ἡλίου δύνοντος ἡ Περσικὴ αὕτη στρατιὴ ἀπίκετο. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Μαρδονίῳ ἦλθε ἀγγελίη ὡς ἀλέες εἴησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ. οὕτω δὴ ὀπίσω ἐπορεύετο διὰ Δεκελέης· οἱ γὰρ βοιωτάρχαι μετεπέμψαντο τοὺς προσχώρους τῶν Ἀσωπίων, οὗτοι δὲ αὐτῷ τὴν ὁδὸν ἡγέοντο ἐς Σφενδαλέας, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἐς Τάναγραν. ἐν Τανάγρῃ δὲ νύκτα ἐναυλισάμενος καὶ τραπόμενος τῇ ὑστεραίῃ ἐς Σκῶλον ἐν γῇ τῇ Θηβαίων ἦν. ἐνθαῦτα δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων καίπερ μηδιζόντων ἔκειρε τοὺς χώρους, οὕτι κατὰ ἔχθος αὐτῶν ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης μεγάλης ἐχόμενος, βουλόμενος ἔρυμά τε τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ποιήσασθαι, καὶ ἢν συμβαλόντι οἱ μὴ ἐκβαίνῃ ὁκοῖόν τι ἐθέλοι, κρησφύγετον τοῦτο ἐποιέετο. παρῆκε δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀρξάμενον ἀπὸ Ἐρυθρέων παρὰ Ὑσιάς, κατέτεινε δὲ ἐς τὴν Πλαταιίδα γῆν, παρὰ τὸν Ἀσωπὸν ποταμὸν τεταγμένον. οὐ μέντοι τό γε τεῖχος τοσοῦτο ἐποιέετο, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπὶ δέκα σταδίους μάλιστά κῃ μέτωπον ἕκαστον.*

c. 16. *The banquet of Attaginus at Thebes. Conversation of Thersander of Orchomenus and the Persian.*

16 Ἐχόντων δὲ τὸν πόνον τοῦτον τῶν βαρβάρων Ἀττα-

γῖνος ὁ Φρύνωνος ἀνὴρ Θηβαῖος παρασκευασάμενος μεγάλως ἐκάλεε ἐπὶ ξείνια αὐτόν τε Μαρδόνιον καὶ πεντήκοντα Περσέων τοὺς λογιμωτάτους, κληθέντες δὲ οὗτοι εἵποντο. ἦν δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον ποιεύμενον ἐν Θήβῃσι. τάδε δὲ ἤδη τὰ ἐπίλοιπα ἤκουον Θερσάνδρου ἀνδρὸς μὲν Ὀρχομενίου, λογίμου δὲ ἐς τὰ πρῶτα ἐν Ὀρχομενῷ. ἔφη δὲ ὁ Θέρσανδρος κληθῆναι καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ Ἀτταγίνου ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον τοῦτο, κληθῆναι δὲ καὶ Θηβαίων ἄνδρας πεντήκοντα, καί σφεων οὐ χωρὶς ἑκατέρους κλῖναι, ἀλλὰ Πέρσην τε καὶ Θηβαῖον ἐν κλίνῃ ἑκάστῃ. ὡς δὲ ἀπὸ δείπνου ἦσαν, διαπινόντων τὸν Πέρσην τὸν ὁμόκλινον Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ἱέντα εἰρέσθαι αὐτὸν ὁποδαπός ἐστι, αὐτὸς δὲ ὑποκρίνασθαι ὡς εἴη Ὀρχομένιος. τὸν δὲ εἰπεῖν· Ἐπεὶ νῦν ὁμοτράπεζός τέ μοι καὶ ὁμόσπονδος ἐγένεο, μνημόσυνά τοι γνώμης τῆς ἐμῆς καταλιπέσθαι θέλω, ἵνα καὶ προειδὼς αὐτὸς περὶ σεωυτοῦ βουλεύεσθαι ἔχῃς τὰ συμφέροντα. ὁρᾷς τούτους τοὺς δαινυμένους Πέρσας καὶ τὸν στρατὸν τὸν ἐλίπομεν ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ στρατοπεδευόμενον; τούτων πάντων ὄψεαι ὀλίγου τινὸς χρόνου διελθόντος ὀλίγους τινὰς τοὺς περιγενομένους. ταῦτά τε ἅμα τὸν Πέρσην λέγειν καὶ μετιέναι πολλὰ τῶν δακρύων. αὐτὸς δὲ θωμάσας τὸν λόγον εἰπεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν· Οὐκῶν Μαρδονίῳ τε ταῦτα χρεόν ἐστι λέγειν καὶ τοῖσι μετ' ἐκεῖνον ἐν αἴνῃ ἐοῦσι Περσέων; τὸν δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα εἰπεῖν· Ξεῖνε, ὅ τι δεῖ γενέσθαι ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀμήχανον ἀποτρέψαι ἀνθρώπῳ· οὐδὲ γὰρ πιστὰ λέγουσι ἐθέλει πείθεσθαι οὐδείς. ταῦτα δὲ Περσέων συχνοὶ ἐπιστάμενοι ἑπόμεθα ἀναγκαίῃ ἐνδεδεμένοι. ἐχθίστη δὲ ὀδύνη ἐστὶ τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποισι αὕτη, πολλὰ φρονέοντα μηδενὸς κρατέειν. ταῦτα μὲν τοῦ Ὀρχομενίου Θερσάνδρου ἤκουον, καὶ τάδε πρὸς τούτοισι, ὡς αὐτὸς αὐτίκα IX.

IX. λέγοι ταῦτα πρὸς ἀνθρώπους πρότερον ἢ γενέσθαι ἐν Πλαταιῇσι τὴν μάχην.

cc. 17, 18. *The Phocians join Mardonius in Boeotia. Alarmed to find themselves isolated, and fearing that they may be shot down, they prepare for a resolute defence. Mardonius pretends that he merely made trial of their courage.*

17 Μαρδονίου δὲ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίῃ στρατοπεδευομένου οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι παρείχοντο ἅπαντες στρατιὴν καὶ συνεσέβαλον ἐς Ἀθήνας ὅσοι περ ἐμήδιζον Ἑλλήνων τῶν ταύτῃ οἰκημένων, μοῦνοι δὲ Φωκέες οὐ συνεσέβαλον· ἐμήδιζον γὰρ δὴ σφόδρα καὶ οὗτοι, οὐκ ἑκόντες ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης. ἡμέρῃσι δὲ οὐ πολλῇσι μετὰ τὴν ἄπιξιν τὴν ἐς Θήβας ὕστερον ἦλθον αὐτῶν ὁπλῖται χίλιοι· ἦγε δὲ αὐτοὺς Ἁρμοκύδης ἀνὴρ τῶν ἀστῶν δοκιμώτατος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπίκατο καὶ οὗτοι ἐς Θήβας, πέμψας ὁ Μαρδόνιος ἱππέας ἐκέλευσέ σφεας ἐπ' ἑωυτῶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἵζεσθαι. ὡς δὲ ἐποίησαν ταῦτα, αὐτίκα παρῆν ἵππος ἡ ἅπασα. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα διεξῆλθε μὲν διὰ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ τοῦ μετὰ Μήδων ἐόντος φήμη ὡς κατακοντιεῖ σφεας, διεξῆλθε δὲ δι' αὐτῶν Φωκέων τώυτὸ τοῦτο. ἔνθα δή σφι ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἁρμοκύδης παραίνεε λέγων τοιάδε· Ὦ Φωκέες, πρόδηλα γὰρ ὅτι ἡμέας οὗτοι οἱ ἄνθρωποι μέλλουσι προόπτῳ θανάτῳ δώσειν, διαβεβλημένους ὑπὸ Θεσσαλῶν, ὡς ἐγὼ εἰκάζω· νῦν ἄνδρα πάντα τινὰ ὑμέων χρεόν ἐστι γενέσθαι ἀγαθόν· κρέσσον γὰρ ποιεῦντάς τι καὶ ἀμυνομένους τελευτῆσαι τὸν αἰῶνα ἤ περ παρέχοντας διαφθαρῆναι αἰσχίστῳ μόρῳ. ἀλλὰ μαθέτω τις αὐτῶν ὅτι ἐόντες βάρβαροι ἐπ' Ἕλλησι
18 ἀνδράσι φόνον ἔρραψαν. ὁ μὲν ταῦτα παραίνεε· οἱ δὲ ἱππέες ἐπείτε σφέας ἐκυκλώσαντο, ἐπήλαυνον ὡς ἀπολέοντες, καὶ δὴ διετείνοντο τὰ βέλεα ὡς ἀπήσοντες, καί κού τις

καὶ ἀπῆκε. καὶ οἱ ἀντίοι ἔστησαν, πάντῃ συστρέψαντες IX.
ἑωυτοὺς καὶ πυκνώσαντες ὡς μάλιστα. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ 5
ἱππόται ὑπέστρεφον καὶ ἀπήλαυνον ὀπίσω. οὐκ ἔχω δ'
ἀτρεκέως εἰπεῖν οὔτε εἰ ἦλθον μὲν ἀπολέοντες τοὺς
Φωκέας δεηθέντων Θεσσαλῶν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ὥρων πρὸς ἀλέ-
ξησιν τραπομένους, δείσαντες μὴ καὶ σφίσι γένηται
τρώματα, οὕτω δὴ ἀπήλαυνον ὀπίσω (ὡς γάρ σφι ἐν- 10
ετείλατο Μαρδόνιος) οὔτ' εἰ αὐτῶν πειρηθῆναι ἠθέλησε
εἴ τι ἀλκῆς μετέχουσι. ὡς δὲ ὀπίσω ἀπήλασαν οἱ
ἱππόται, πέμψας Μαρδόνιος κήρυκα ἔλεγε τάδε· Θαρ-
σέετε, ὦ Φωκέες· ἄνδρες γὰρ ἐφάνητε ἐόντες ἀγαθοί,
οὐκ ὡς ἐγὼ ἐπυνθανόμην. καὶ νῦν προθύμως φέρετε τὸν 15
πόλεμον τοῦτον· εὐεργεσίῃσι γὰρ οὐ νικήσετε οὔτ' ὦν ἐμὲ
οὔτε βασιλέα. τὰ περὶ Φωκέων μὲν ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐγένετο.

c. 19. *The Spartans are joined at the Isthmus by other Peloponnesians. The army proceeds to Eleusis, where it is joined by the Athenians. Thence it marches to Erythrae and the northern slopes of Cithaeron.*

Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ὡς ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἦλθον, ἐν τούτῳ 19
ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο. πυνθανόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα οἱ λοιποὶ
Πελοποννήσιοι τοῖσι τὰ ἀμείνω ἐάνδανε, οἱ δὲ καὶ
ὁρῶντες ἐξιόντας Σπαρτιήτας, οὐκ ἐδικαίευν λείπεσθαι
τῆς ἐξόδου Λακεδαιμονίων. ἐκ δὴ ὧν τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ 5
καλλιερησάντων τῶν ἱρῶν ἐπορεύοντο πάντες καὶ
ἀπικνέονται ἐς Ἐλευσῖνα· ποιήσαντες δὲ καὶ ἐνθαῦτα
ἱρά, ὥς σφι ἐκαλλιέρεε, *τὸ πρόσω ἐπορεύοντο, Ἀθηναῖοι
δὲ ἅμα αὐτοῖσι, διαβάντες μὲν ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος, συμμιγέντες
δὲ ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι. ὡς δὲ ἄρα ἀπίκοντο τῆς Βοιωτίης ἐς 10
Ἐρυθράς, ἐμαθόν τε δὴ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀσωπῷ
στρατοπεδευομένους, φρασθέντες δὲ τοῦτο ἀντετάσσοντο
ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπωρέης τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος.

IX. cc. 20–24. *Attack of the Persian horse under Masistius. The Megarians, who suffer severely, are relieved by the Athenians. Death of Masistius, and repulse of the horse.*

20 Μαρδόνιος δέ, ὡς οὐ κατέβαινον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐς τὸ πεδίον, πέμπει ἐς αὐτοὺς πᾶσαν τὴν ἵππον, τῆς ἱππάρχεε Μασίστιος εὐδοκιμέων παρὰ Πέρσῃσι, τὸν Ἕλληνες Μακίστιον καλέουσι, ἵππον ἔχων Νησαῖον χρυσοχάλινόν τε καὶ ἄλλως κεκοσμημένον καλῶς. ἐνθαῦτα ὡς προσήλασαν οἱ ἱππόται πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, προσέβαλλον κατὰ τέλεα, προσβάλλοντες δὲ κακὰ μεγάλα ἐργάζοντο
21 καὶ γυναῖκάς σφεας ἀπεκάλεον. κατὰ συντυχίην δὲ Μεγαρέες ἔτυχον ταχθέντες τῇ τε ἐπιμαχώτατον ἦν τοῦ χωρίου παντός, καὶ πρόσοδος μάλιστα ταύτῃ ἐγίνετο τῇ ἵππῳ. προσβαλλούσης ὦν τῆς ἵππου οἱ Μεγαρέες πιεζόμενοι ἔπεμπον ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων κήρυκα, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ὁ κῆρυξ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔλεγε τάδε· Μεγαρέες λέγουσι· Ἡμεῖς, ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, οὐ δυνατοί εἰμεν τὴν Περσέων ἵππον δέκεσθαι μοῦνοι, ἔχοντες στάσιν ταύτην ἐς τὴν ἔστημεν ἀρχήν· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τόδε λιπαρίῃ τε καὶ ἀρετῇ ἀντέχομεν καίπερ πιεζόμενοι. νῦν τε εἰ μή τινας ἄλλους πέμψετε διαδόχους τῆς τάξιος, ἵστε ἡμέας ἐκλείψοντας τὴν τάξιν. ὁ μὲν δή σφι ταῦτα ἀπήγγελλε, Παυσανίης δὲ ἀπεπειρᾶτο τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἴ τινες ἐθέλοιεν ἄλλοι ἐθελονταὶ ἰέναι τε ἐς τὸν χῶρον τοῦτον καὶ τάσσεσθαι διάδοχοι Μεγαρεῦσι. οὐ βουλομένων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων Ἀθηναῖοι ὑπεδέξαντο καὶ Ἀθηναίων
22 οἱ τριηκόσιοι λογάδες, τῶν ἐλοχήγεε Ὀλυμπιόδωρος ὁ Λάμπωνος. οὗτοι ἦσαν οἵ τε ὑποδεξάμενοι καὶ οἱ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν παρεόντων Ἑλλήνων ἐς Ἐρυθρὰς ταχθέντες, τοὺς τοξότας προσελόμενοι. μαχομένων δέ σφεων ἐπὶ χρόνον τέλος τοιόνδε ἐγένετο τῆς μάχης· προσ-

βαλλούσης τῆς ἵππου κατὰ τέλεα ὁ Μασιστίου προέχων IX.
τῶν ἄλλων ἵππος βάλλεται τοξεύματι τὰ πλευρά, 6
ἀλγήσας δὲ ἵσταταί τε ὀρθὸς καὶ ἀποσείεται τὸν
Μασίστιον. πεσόντι δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι αὐτίκα
ἐπεκέατο. τόν τε δὴ ἵππον αὐτοῦ λαμβάνουσι καὶ αὐτὸν
ἀμυνόμενον κτείνουσι, κατ' ἀρχὰς οὐ δυνάμενοι. ἐνεσ- 10
κεύαστο γὰρ οὕτω· ἐντὸς θώρηκα εἶχε χρύσεον λεπιδωτόν,
κατύπερθε δὲ τοῦ θώρηκος κιθῶνα φοινίκεον ἐνεδεδύκει.
τύπτοντες δὲ ἐς τὸν θώρηκα ἐποίευν οὐδέν, πρίν γε δὴ
μαθών τις τὸ ποιεύμενον παίει μιν ἐς τὸν ὀφθαλμόν.
οὕτω δὴ ἔπεσέ τε καὶ ἀπέθανε. ταῦτα δέ κως γινόμενα 15
ἐλελήθεε τοὺς ἄλλους ἱππέας· οὔτε γὰρ πεσόντα μιν
εἶδον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου οὔτε ἀποθνήσκοντα, ἀναχωρήσιός τε
γινομένης καὶ ὑποστροφῆς οὐκ ἔμαθον τὸ γινόμενον.
ἐπείτε δὲ ἔστησαν, αὐτίκα ἐπόθεσαν, ὥς σφεας οὐδεὶς
ἦν ὁ τάσσων· μαθόντες δὲ τὸ γεγονός, διακελευσάμενοι 20
ἤλαυνον τοὺς ἵππους πάντες, ὡς ἂν τὸν νεκρὸν
ἀνελοίατο. ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οὐκέτι κατὰ τέλεα 23
προσελαύνοντας τοὺς ἱππέας ἀλλ' ἅμα πάντας, τὴν ἄλλην
στρατιὴν ἐπεβώσαντο. ἐν ᾧ δὲ ὁ πεζὸς ἅπας ἐπεβοήθεε,
ἐν τούτῳ μάχη ὀξέα περὶ τοῦ νεκροῦ γίνεται. ἕως μέν
νυν μοῦνοι ἦσαν οἱ τρικόσιοι, ἐσσοῦντό τε πολλὸν καὶ 5
τὸν νεκρὸν ἀπέλιπον· ὡς δέ σφι τὸ πλῆθος ἐπεβοήθησε,
οὕτω δὴ οὐκέτι οἱ ἱππόται ὑπέμενον, οὐδέ σφι ἐξεγένετο
τὸν νεκρὸν ἀνελέσθαι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἐκείνῳ ἄλλους προσα-
πώλεσαν τῶν ἱππέων. ἀποστήσαντες ὧν ὅσον τε δύο
στάδια ἐβουλεύοντο ὅ τι χρεὸν εἴη ποιέειν· ἐδόκεε δέ 10
σφι ἀναρχίης ἐούσης ἀπελαύνειν παρὰ Μαρδόνιον.
ἀπικομένης δὲ τῆς ἵππου ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον πένθος 24
ἐποιήσαντο Μασιστίου πᾶσά τε ἡ στρατιὴ καὶ Μαρ-
δόνιος μέγιστον, σφέας τε αὐτοὺς κείροντες καὶ τοὺς

IX. ἵππους καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια οἰμωγῇ τε χρεώμενοι ἀπλέτῳ· ἅπασαν γὰρ τὴν Βοιωτίην κατεῖχε ἠχὼ ὡς ἀνδρὸς ἀπολομένου μετά γε Μαρδόνιον λογιμωτάτου παρά τε Πέρσῃσι καὶ βασιλέϊ.

cc. 25–28. *The Greeks determine to move towards Plataea to a more convenient position. They encamp near Gargaphia and the Androcrateum. Contention between the Arcadians and Athenians for the post on the left wing.*

25 Οἱ μέν νυν βάρβαροι τρόπῳ τῷ σφετέρῳ ἀποθανόντα ἐτίμων Μασίστιον· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ὡς τὴν ἵππον ἐδέξαντο προσβάλλουσαν καὶ δεξάμενοι ὥσαντο, ἐθάρσησαν πολλῷ μᾶλλον, καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ἐς ἅμαξαν ἐσθέντες τὸν νεκρὸν παρὰ τὰς τάξις ἐκόμιζον· ὁ δὲ νεκρὸς ἦν θέης ἄξιος μεγάθεος εἵνεκα καὶ κάλλεος· τῶν δὲ εἵνεκα καὶ ταῦτα ἐποίευν· ἐκλείποντες τὰς τάξις ἐφοίτων θεησόμενοι Μασίστιον. μετὰ δὲ ἔδοξέ σφι ἐπικαταβῆναι ἐς Πλαταιάς· ὁ γὰρ χῶρος ἐφαίνετο πολλῷ ἐὼν ἐπιτηδεότερός σφι ἐνστρατοπεδεύεσθαι ὁ Πλαταιικὸς τοῦ Ἐρυθραίου τά τε ἄλλα καὶ εὐυδρότερος. ἐς τοῦτον δὴ τὸν χῶρον καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν κρήνην τὴν Γαργαφίην τὴν ἐν τῷ χώρῳ τούτῳ ἐοῦσαν ἔδοξέ σφι χρεὸν εἶναι ἀπικέσθαι καὶ διαταχθέντας στρατοπεδεύεσθαι. ἀναλαβόντες δὲ τὰ ὅπλα ἦισαν διὰ τῆς ὑπωρέης τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος παρὰ Ὑσιὰς ἐς τὴν Πλαταιίδα γῆν, ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐτάσσοντο κατὰ ἔθνεα πλησίον τῆς τε κρήνης τῆς Γαργαφίης καὶ τοῦ τεμένεος τοῦ Ἀνδροκράτεος τοῦ ἥρωος διὰ ὄχθων τε οὐκ ὑψηλῶν καὶ
26 ἀπέδου χωρίου. ἐνθαῦτα ἐν τῇ διατάξι ἐγένετο λόγων πολλὸς ὠθισμὸς Τεγεητέων τε καὶ Ἀθηναίων· ἐδικαίευν γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἑκάτεροι ἔχειν τὸ ἕτερον κέρας, καὶ καινὰ καὶ παλαιὰ παραφέροντες ἔργα. τοῦτο μὲν οἱ Τεγεῆται ἔλεγον τάδε· Ἡμεῖς αἰεί κοτε ἀξιεύμεθα ταύτης τῆς

τάξιος ἐκ τῶν συμμάχων ἁπάντων, ὅσαι ἤδη ἔξοδοι IX.
κοιναὶ ἐγένοντο Πελοποννησίοισι καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν καὶ τὸ
νέον, ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου ἐπείτε Ἡρακλεῖδαι ἐπειρῶντο
μετὰ τὸν Εὐρυσθέος θάνατον κατιόντες ἐς Πελοπόννησον.
τότε εὑρόμεθα τοῦτο διὰ πρῆγμα τοιόνδε· ἐπεὶ μετὰ
Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Ἰώνων τῶν τότε ἐόντων ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ
ἐκβοηθήσαντες ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἱζόμεθα ἀντίοι τοῖσι
κατιοῦσι, τότε ὧν λόγος Ὕλλον ἀγορεύσασθαι ὡς χρεὸν
εἴη τὸν μὲν στρατὸν τῷ στρατῷ μὴ ἀνακινδυνεύειν
συμβάλλοντα, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Πελοποννησίου στρατοπέδου
τὸν ἂν σφέων αὐτῶν κρίνωσι εἶναι ἄριστον, τοῦτόν οἱ
μουνομαχῆσαι ἐπὶ διακειμένοισι. ἔδοξέ τε τοῖσι Πελο-
ποννησίοισι ταῦτα εἶναι ποιητέα καὶ ἔταμον ὅρκιον ἐπὶ
λόγῳ τοιῷδε, ἢν μὲν Ὕλλος νικήσῃ τὸν Πελοποννησίων
ἡγεμόνα, κατιέναι Ἡρακλείδας ἐπὶ τὰ πατρώια, ἢν δὲ
νικηθῇ, τὰ ἔμπαλιν Ἡρακλείδας ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι καὶ
ἀπάγειν τὴν στρατιὴν ἑκατόν τε ἐτέων μὴ ζητῆσαι
κάτοδον ἐς Πελοπόννησον. προεκρίθη τε δὴ ἐκ πάντων
τῶν συμμάχων ἐθελοντὴς Ἔχεμος ὁ Ἠρόπου τοῦ Φηγέος,
στρατηγός τε ἐὼν καὶ βασιλεὺς ἡμέτερος, καὶ ἐμουνο-
μάχησέ τε καὶ ἀπέκτεινε Ὕλλον. ἐκ τούτου τοῦ ἔργου
εὑρόμεθα ἐν Πελοποννησίοισι τοῖσι τότε καὶ ἄλλα γέρεα
μεγάλα, τὰ διατελέομεν ἔχοντες, καὶ τοῦ κέρεος τοῦ
ἑτέρου αἰεὶ ἡγεμονεύειν κοινῆς ἐξόδου γινομένης. ὑμῖν
μέν νυν, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οὐκ ἀντιεύμεθα, ἀλλὰ διδόντες
αἵρεσιν ὁκοτέρου βούλεσθε κέρεος ἄρχειν παρίεμεν· τοῦ
δὲ ἑτέρου φαμὲν ἡμέας ἱκνέεσθαι ἡγεμονεύειν κατά περ
ἐν τῷ πρόσθε χρόνῳ. χωρίς τε τούτου τοῦ ἀπηγημένου
ἔργου ἀξιονικότεροί εἰμεν Ἀθηναίων ταύτην τὴν τάξιν
ἔχειν. πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ εὖ ἔχοντες πρὸς ὑμέας ἡμῖν,
ἄνδρες Σπαρτιῆται, ἀγῶνες ἀγωνίδαται, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ

IX. πρὸς ἄλλους. οὕτω ὦν δίκαιον ἡμέας ἔχειν τὸ ἕτερον κέρας ἢ περ Ἀθηναίους· οὐ γάρ σφί ἐστι ἔργα οἷά περ
27 ἡμῖν κατεργασμένα, οὔτ' ὦν καινὰ οὔτε παλαιά. οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγον, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα ὑπεκρίναντο τάδε· Ἐπιστάμεθα μὲν σύνοδον τήνδε μάχης εἵνεκα συλλεγῆναι πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον, ἀλλ' οὐ λόγων· ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Τεγεήτης προέθηκε παλαιὰ καὶ καινὰ λέγειν τὰ ἑκατέροισι ἐν τῷ παντὶ χρόνῳ κατέργασται χρηστά, ἀναγκαίως ἡμῖν ἔχει δηλῶσαι πρὸς ὑμέας ὅθεν ἡμῖν πατρώιόν ἐστι ἐοῦσι χρηστοῖσι αἰεὶ πρώτοισι εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ Ἀρκάσι. Ἡρακλείδας, τῶν οὗτοί φασι ἀποκτεῖναι τὸν ἡγεμόνα ἐν Ἰσθμῷ, τοῦτο μὲν τούτους πρότερον ἐξελαυνομένους ὑπὸ πάντων Ἑλλήνων ἐς τοὺς ἀπικοίατο φεύγοντες δουλοσύνην πρὸς Μυκηναίων, μοῦνοι ὑποδεξάμενοι τὴν Εὐρυσθέος ὕβριν κατείλομεν, σὺν ἐκείνοισι μάχῃ νικήσαντες τοὺς τότε ἔχοντας Πελοπόννησον. τοῦτο δὲ Ἀργείους τοὺς μετὰ Πολυνείκεος ἐπὶ Θήβας ἐλάσαντας, τελευτήσαντας τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ ἀτάφους κειμένους, στρατευσάμενοι ἐπὶ τοὺς Καδμείους ἀνελέσθαι τε τοὺς νεκρούς φαμεν καὶ θάψαι τῆς ἡμετέρης ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι. ἔστι δὲ ἡμῖν ἔργον εὖ ἔχον καὶ ἐς Ἀμαζονίδας τὰς ἀπὸ Θερμώδοντος ποταμοῦ ἐσβαλούσας κοτὲ ἐς γῆν τὴν Ἀττικήν. καὶ ἐν τοῖσι Τρωικοῖσι πόνοισι οὐδαμῶν ἐλειπόμεθα. ἀλλ' οὐ γάρ τι προέχει τούτων ἐπιμεμνῆσθαι· καὶ γὰρ ἂν χρηστοὶ τότε ἐόντες ὦυτοὶ νῦν ἂν εἶεν φλαυρότεροι καὶ τότε ἐόντες φλαῦροι νῦν ἂν εἶεν ἀμείνονες. παλαιῶν μέν νυν ἔργων ἅλις ἔστω· ἡμῖν δὲ εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο ἐστὶ ἀποδεδεγμένον, ὥσπερ ἐστὶ πολλά τε καὶ εὖ ἔχοντα εἰ τέοισι καὶ ἄλλοισι Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν Μαραθῶνι ἔργου ἄξιοί εἰμεν τοῦτο τὸ γέρας ἔχειν καὶ ἄλλα πρὸς τούτῳ, οἵτινες μοῦνοι Ἑλλήνων δὴ μουνομαχήσαντες τῷ Πέρσῃ

καὶ ἔργῳ τοσούτῳ ἐπιχειρήσαντες περιεγενόμεθα καὶ IX.
ἐνικήσαμεν ἔθνεα ἕξ τε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα. ἆρ' οὐ δίκαιοί 31
εἰμεν ἔχειν ταύτην τὴν τάξιν ἀπὸ τούτου μούνου τοῦ
ἔργου; ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε τάξιος εἵνεκα στα-
σιάζειν πρέπει, ἄρτιοί εἰμεν πείθεσθαι ὑμῖν, ὦ Λακεδαι-
μόνιοι, ἵνα δοκέει ἐπιτηδεότατον ἡμέας εἶναι ἑστάναι καὶ 35
κατ' οὔστινας· πάντῃ γὰρ τεταγμένοι πειρησόμεθα εἶναι
χρηστοί. ἐξηγέεσθε δὲ ὡς πεισομένων. οἱ μὲν ταῦτα
ἀμείβοντο, Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ ἀνέβωσε ἅπαν τὸ στρα-
τόπεδον Ἀθηναίους ἀξιονικοτέρους εἶναι ἔχειν τὸ κέρας
ἢ περ Ἀρκάδας. οὕτω δὴ ἔσχον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ὑπερ- 40
εβάλοντο τοὺς Τεγεήτας.

cc. 28-30. *Arrangement and numbers of the Greek forces. The total of hoplites is* 38,700, *and of light armed* 69,500.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐτάσσοντο ὧδε οἱ ἐπιφοιτῶντές τε καὶ 28
οἱ ἀρχὴν ἐλθόντες Ἑλλήνων· τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν κέρας εἶχον
Λακεδαιμονίων μύριοι· τούτων δὲ τοὺς πεντακισχιλίους
ἐόντας Σπαρτιήτας ἐφύλασσον ψιλοὶ τῶν εἱλώτων πεν-
τακισχίλιοι καὶ τρισμύριοι, περὶ ἄνδρα ἕκαστον ἑπτὰ 5
τεταγμένοι· προσεχέας δὲ σφίσι εἵλοντο ἑστάναι οἱ
Σπαρτιῆται τοὺς Τεγεήτας καὶ τιμῆς εἵνεκα καὶ ἀρετῆς·
τούτων δ' ἦσαν ὁπλῖται χίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι. μετὰ
δὲ τούτους ἵσταντο Κορινθίων πεντακισχίλιοι, παρὰ δὲ
σφίσι εὕροντο παρὰ Παυσανίεω ἑστάναι Ποτιδαιητέων 10
τῶν ἐκ Παλλήνης τοὺς παρεόντας τριηκοσίους. τούτων
δὲ ἐχόμενοι ἵσταντο Ἀρκάδες Ὀρχομένιοι ἑξακόσιοι,
τούτων δὲ Σικυώνιοι τρισχίλιοι. τούτων δὲ εἴχοντο
Ἐπιδαυρίων ὀκτακόσιοι. παρὰ δὲ τούτους Τροιζηνίων
ἐτάσσοντο χίλιοι, Τροιζηνίων δὲ ἐχόμενοι Λεπρεητέων 15
διηκόσιοι, τούτων δὲ Μυκηναίων καὶ Τιρυνθίων τετρα-
κόσιοι, τούτων δὲ ἐχόμενοι Φλιάσιοι χίλιοι· παρὰ δὲ

IX. τούτους ἔστησαν Ἐρμιονέες τριηκόσιοι. Ἐρμιονέων δὲ ἐχόμενοι ἵσταντο Ἐρετριέων τε καὶ Στυρέων ἑξακόσιοι, τούτων δὲ Χαλκιδέες τετρακόσιοι, τούτων δὲ Ἀμπρακιωτέων πενταχόσιοι. μετὰ δὲ τούτους Λευκαδίων καὶ Ἀνακτορίων ὀκτακόσιοι ἔστησαν, τούτων δὲ ἐχόμενοι Παλέες οἱ ἐκ Κεφαλληνίης διηκόσιοι. μετὰ δὲ τούτους Αἰγινητέων πεντακόσιοι ἐτάχθησαν. παρὰ δὲ τούτους ἐτάσσοντο Μεγαρέων τρισχίλιοι. εἶχοντο δὲ τούτων Πλαταιέες ἑξακόσιοι. τελευταῖοι δὲ καὶ πρῶτοι Ἀθηναῖοι ἐτάσσοντο, κέρας ἔχοντες τὸ εὐώνυμον, ὀκτακισχίλιοι· ἐστρατήγεε δ' αὐτῶν Ἀριστείδης ὁ Λυσιμάχου.

29 οὗτοι, πλὴν τῶν ἑπτὰ περὶ ἕκαστον τεταγμένων Σπαρτιήτησι, ἦσαν ὁπλῖται, σύμπαντες ἐόντες ἀριθμὸν τρεῖς τε μυριάδες καὶ ὀκτὼ χιλιάδες καὶ ἑκατοντάδες ἑπτά. ὁπλῖται μὲν οἱ πάντες συλλεγέντες ἐπὶ τὸν βάρβαρον ἦσαν τοσοῦτοι, ψιλῶν δὲ πλῆθος ἦν τόδε, τῆς μὲν Σπαρτιητικῆς τάξιος πεντακισχίλιοι καὶ τρισμύριοι ἄνδρες ὡς ἐόντων ἑπτὰ περὶ ἕκαστον ἄνδρα, καὶ τούτων πᾶς τις παρήρτητο ὡς ἐς πόλεμον· οἱ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Ἑλλήνων ψιλοί, ὡς εἷς περὶ ἕκαστον ἐὼν ἄνδρα, πεντακόσιοι καὶ τετρακισχίλιοι καὶ τρισμύριοι

30 ἦσαν. ψιλῶν μὲν δὴ τῶν ἁπάντων μαχίμων ἦν τὸ πλῆθος ἓξ τε μυριάδες καὶ ἐννέα χιλιάδες καὶ ἑκατοντάδες πέντε, τοῦ δὲ σύμπαντος Ἑλληνικοῦ τοῦ συνελθόντος ἐς Πλαταιὰς σύν τε ὁπλίτῃσι καὶ ψιλοῖσι τοῖσι μαχίμοισι ἕνδεκα μυριάδες ἦσαν, μιῆς χιλιάδος, πρὸς δὲ ὀκτακοσίων ἀνδρῶν καταδέουσαι. σὺν δὲ Θεσπιέων τοῖσι παρεοῦσι ἐξεπληροῦντο αἱ ἕνδεκα μυριάδες· παρῆσαν γὰρ καὶ Θεσπιέων ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ οἱ περιεόντες, ἀριθμὸν ἐς ὀκτακοσίους καὶ χιλίους· ὅπλα δὲ οὐδ' οὗτοι εἶχον.

cc. 31, 32. *The Persians advance to the Asopus. Arrangement of their forces. The total number reached* 300,000, *and there were* 50,000 *Medizing Greeks in addition.* **IX.**

Οὗτοι μέν νυν ταχθέντες ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀσωπῷ ἐστρατοπε- 31
δεύοντο· οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Μαρδόνιον βάρβαροι ὡς ἀπεκήδευσαν
Μασίστιον, παρῆσαν, πυθόμενοι τοὺς Ἕλληνας εἶναι ἐν
Πλαταιῇσι, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀσωπὸν τὸν ταύτῃ ῥέοντα.
ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἀντετάσσοντο ὧδε ὑπὸ Μαρδονίου· κατὰ 5
μὲν Λακεδαιμονίους ἔστησε Πέρσας. καὶ δὴ πολλὸν γὰρ
περιῆσαν πλήθεϊ οἱ Πέρσαι, ἐπί τε τάξις πλεῦνας
ἐκεκοσμέατο καὶ ἐπεῖχον καὶ τοὺς Τεγεήτας. ἔταξε δὲ
οὕτω· ὅ τι μὲν ἦν *αὐτῶν δυνατώτατον πᾶν ἀπολέξας
ἔστησε ἀντίον Λακεδαιμονίων, τὸ δὲ ἀσθενέστερον παρέ- 10
ταξε κατὰ τοὺς Τεγεήτας. ταῦτα δ' ἐποίεε φραζόντων
τε καὶ διδασκόντων Θηβαίων. Περσέων δὲ ἐχομένους
ἔταξε Μήδους· οὗτοι δὲ ἐπέσχον Κορινθίους τε καὶ Ποτι-
δαιήτας καὶ Ὀρχομενίους τε καὶ Σικυωνίους. Μήδων δὲ
ἐχομένους ἔταξε Βακτρίους· οὗτοι δὲ ἐπέσχον Ἐπιδαυ- 15
ρίους τε καὶ Τροιζηνίους καὶ Λεπρεήτας τε καὶ Τιρυνθίους
καὶ Μυκηναίους τε καὶ Φλιασίους. μετὰ δὲ Βακτρίους
ἔστησε Ἰνδούς· οὗτοι δὲ ἐπέσχον Ἑρμιονέας τε καὶ
Ἐρετριέας καὶ Στυρέας τε καὶ Χαλκιδέας. Ἰνδῶν δὲ
ἐχομένους Σάκας ἔταξε, οἳ ἐπέσχον Ἀμπρακιώτας τε καὶ 20
Ἀνακτορίους καὶ Λευκαδίους καὶ Παλέας καὶ Αἰγινήτας.
Σακέων δὲ ἐχομένους ἔταξε ἀντία Ἀθηναίων τε καὶ
Πλαταιέων καὶ Μεγαρέων Βοιωτούς τε καὶ Λοκροὺς
καὶ Μηλιέας καὶ Θεσσαλοὺς καὶ Φωκέων τοὺς χιλίους.
οὐ γὰρ ὦν ἅπαντες οἱ Φωκέες ἐμήδισαν, ἀλλά τινες 25
αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ Ἑλλήνων ἠῦξον περὶ τὸν Παρνησσὸν
κατειλημένοι, καὶ ἐνθεῦτεν ὁρμώμενοι ἔφερόν τε καὶ
ἦγον τήν τε Μαρδονίου στρατιὴν καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ

IX. ἐόντας Ἑλλήνων. ἔταξε δὲ καὶ Μακεδόνας τε καὶ τοὺς
32 περὶ Θεσσαλίην οἰκημένους κατὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. ταῦτα
μὲν τῶν ἐθνέων τὰ μέγιστα ὠνόμασται τῶν ὑπὸ Μαρ-
δονίου ταχθέντων, τά περ ἐπιφανέστατά τε ἦν καὶ
λόγου πλείστου. ἐνῆσαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνέων ἄνδρες
5 ἀναμεμιγμένοι, Φρυγῶν τε καὶ Μυσῶν καὶ Θρηίκων τε
καὶ Παιόνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ἐν δὲ καὶ Αἰθιόπων τε καὶ
Αἰγυπτίων οἵ τε Ἑρμοτύβιες καὶ οἱ Καλασίριες καλεό-
μενοι μαχαιροφόροι, οἵ περ εἰσὶ Αἰγυπτίων μοῦνοι
μάχιμοι. τούτους δὲ ἔτι ἐν Φαλήρῳ ἐὼν ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν
10 ἀπεβιβάσατο, ἐόντας ἐπιβάτας· οὐ γὰρ ἐτάχθησαν ἐς τὸν
πεζὸν τὸν ἅμα Ξέρξῃ ἀπικόμενον ἐς Ἀθήνας Αἰγύπτιοι.
τῶν μὲν δὴ βαρβάρων ἦσαν τριήκοντα μυριάδες, ὡς καὶ
πρότερον δεδήλωται· τῶν δὲ Ἑλλήνων τῶν Μαρδονίου
συμμάχων οἵδε μὲν οὐδεὶς ἀριθμόν (οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἠριθμήθη-
15 σαν), ὡς δὲ ἀπεικάσαι, ἐς πέντε μυριάδας συλλεγῆναι
εἰκάζω. οὗτοι οἱ παραταχθέντες πεζοὶ ἦσαν, ἡ δὲ ἵππος
χωρὶς ἐτέτακτο.

cc. 33–35. *Both sides prepare for action. Tisamenus offers sacrifice for the Greeks. Account of Tisamenus, who secured Spartan citizenship for himself and his brother in the same manner as Melampus secured a share in the Argive monarchy for himself and his brother Bias.*

33 Ὡς δὲ ἄρα πάντες οἱ ἐτετάχατο κατά τε ἔθνεα καὶ
κατὰ τέλεα, ἐνθαῦτα τῇ δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ ἐθύοντο καὶ
ἀμφότεροι. Ἕλλησι μὲν Τισαμενὸς Ἀντιόχου ἦν ὁ
θυόμενος· οὗτος γὰρ δὴ εἵπετο τῷ στρατεύματι τούτῳ
5 μάντις· τὸν ἐόντα Ἠλεῖον καὶ γένεος τοῦ Ἰαμιδέων
† Κλυτιάδην Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐποιήσαντο λεωσφέτερον.
Τισαμενῷ γὰρ μαντευομένῳ ἐν Δελφοῖσι περὶ γόνου
ἀνεῖλε ἡ Πυθίη ἀγῶνας τοὺς μεγίστους ἀναιρήσεσθαι

πέντε. ὁ μὲν δὴ ἁμαρτὼν τοῦ χρηστηρίου προσεῖχε IX.
γυμνασίοισι ὡς ἀναιρησόμενος γυμνικοὺς ἀγῶνας, ἀσκέων 10
δὲ πεντάεθλον παρὰ ἐν πάλαισμα ἔδραμε νικὰν ὀλυμπιάδα, Ἱερωνύμῳ τῷ Ἀνδρίῳ ἐλθὼν ἐς ἔριν. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ μαθόντες οὐκ ἐς γυμνικοὺς ἀλλ' ἐς ἀρηίους ἀγῶνας φέρον τὸ Τισαμενοῦ μαντήιον, μισθῷ ἐπειρῶντο πείσαντες Τισαμενὸν ποιέεσθαι ἅμα Ἡρακλειδέων τοῖσι 15
βασιλεῦσι ἡγεμόνα τῶν πολέμων. ὁ δὲ ὁρέων περὶ πολλοῦ ποιευμένους Σπαρτιήτας φίλον αὐτὸν προσθέσθαι, μαθὼν τοῦτο ἀνετίμα, σημαίνων σφι ὡς ἤν μιν πολιήτην σφέτερον ποιήσωνται τῶν πάντων μεταδιδόντες, ποιήσει ταῦτα, ἐπ' ἄλλῳ μισθῷ δ' οὔ. Σπαρτιῆται δὲ πρῶτα 20
μὲν ἀκούσαντες δεινὰ ἐποιεῦντο καὶ μετίεσαν τῆς χρησμοσύνης τὸ παράπαν, τέλος δὲ δείματος μεγάλου ἐπικρεμαμένου τοῦ Περσικοῦ τούτου στρατεύματος καταίνεον μετιόντες. ὁ δὲ γνοὺς τετραμμένους σφέας οὐδ' οὕτω ἔτι ἔφη ἀρκέεσθαι τούτοισι μούνοισι, ἀλλὰ δεῖν ἔτι 25
τὸν ἀδελφεὸν ἑωυτοῦ Ἡγίην γίνεσθαι Σπαρτιήτην ἐπὶ τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι λόγοισι τοῖσι καὶ αὐτὸς γίνεται. ταῦτα δὲ 34
λέγων οὗτος ἐμιμέετο Μελάμποδα, ὡς εἰκάσαι βασιληίην τε καὶ πολιτηίην *αἰτεόμενον. καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ Μελάμπους τῶν ἐν Ἄργεϊ γυναικῶν μανεισέων, ὥς μιν οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ἐμισθοῦντο ἐκ Πύλου παῦσαι τὰς σφετέρας γυναῖκας τῆς 5
νούσου, μισθὸν προετείνατο τῆς βασιληίης τὸ ἥμισυ. οὐκ ἀνασχομένων δὲ τῶν Ἀργείων ἀλλ' ἀπιόντων, ὡς ἐμαίνοντο πλεῦνες τῶν γυναικῶν, οὕτω δὴ ὑποστάντες τὰ ὁ Μελάμπους προετείνατο ἤισαν δώσοντές οἱ ταῦτα. ὁ δὲ ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ἐπορέγεται ὁρέων αὐτοὺς τετραμμένους, φάς, 10
ἦν μὴ καὶ τῷ ἀδελφεῷ Βίαντι μεταδῶσι τὸ τριτημόριον τῆς βασιληίης, οὐ ποιήσειν τὰ βούλονται. οἱ δὲ Ἀργεῖοι ἀπειληθέντες ἐς στεινὸν καταινέουσι καὶ ταῦτα. ὡς δὲ 35

IX. καὶ Σπαρτιῆται, ἐδέοντο γὰρ δεινῶς τοῦ Τισαμενοῦ, πάντως συνεχώρεόν οἱ. συγχωρησάντων δὲ καὶ ταῦτα τῶν Σπαρτιητέων, οὕτω δὴ πέντε σφι μαντευόμενος ἀγῶνας τοὺς μεγίστους Τισαμενὸς ὁ Ἠλεῖος, γενόμενος Σπαρτιήτης, συγκαταιρέει. μοῦνοι δὲ δὴ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐγένοντο οὗτοι Σπαρτιήτῃσι πολιῆται. οἱ δὲ πέντε ἀγῶνες οἵδε ἐγένοντο, εἷς μὲν καὶ πρῶτος οὗτος ὁ ἐν Πλαταιῇσι, ἐπὶ δὲ ὁ ἐν Τεγέῃ πρὸς Τεγεήτας τε καὶ Ἀργείους γενόμενος, μετὰ δὲ ὁ ἐν Διπαιεῦσι πρὸς Ἀρκάδας πάντας πλὴν Μαντινέων, ἐπὶ δὲ ὁ Μεσσηνίων ὁ πρὸς *Ἰθώμῃ, ὕστατος δὲ ὁ ἐν Τανάγρῃ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους τε καὶ Ἀργείους γενόμενος· οὗτος δὲ ὕστατος κατεργάσθη τῶν πέντε ἀγώνων.

cc. 36-38. *The sacrifices prevent the Greeks from crossing the Asopus and the same is the case with the Persians, who also have a Greek soothsayer, Hegesistratus, whose escape from Sparta is here related. The Medizing Greeks also sacrifice in vain. Advice of Timegenidas to Mardonius.*

36 Οὗτος δὴ τότε τοῖσι Ἕλλησι ὁ Τισαμενὸς ἀγόντων τῶν Σπαρτιητέων ἐμαντεύετο ἐν τῇ Πλαταιΐδι. τοῖσι μέν νυν Ἕλλησι καλὰ ἐγίνετο τὰ ἱρὰ ἀμυνομένοισι, 37 διαβᾶσι δὲ τὸν Ἀσωπὸν καὶ μάχης ἄρχουσι οὔ· Μαρδονίῳ δὲ προθυμεομένῳ μάχης ἄρχειν οὐκ ἐπιτήδεα ἐγίνετο τὰ ἱρά, ἀμυνομένῳ δὲ καὶ τούτῳ καλά. καὶ γὰρ οὗτος Ἑλληνικοῖσι ἱροῖσι ἐχρᾶτο, μάντιν ἔχων Ἡγησίστρατον, ἄνδρα Ἠλεῖόν τε καὶ τῶν Τελλιαδέων ἐόντα λογιμώτατον, τὸν δὴ πρότερον τούτων Σπαρτιῆται λαβόντες ἔδησαν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ὡς πεπονθότες πολλά τε καὶ ἀνάρσια ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. ὁ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κακῷ ἐχόμενος, ὥστε τρέχων περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς πρό τε τοῦ θανάτου πεισόμενος πολλά τε καὶ λυγρά, ἔργον ἐργάσατο μέζον λόγου.

ὡς γὰρ δὴ ἐδέδετο ἐν ξύλῳ σιδηροδέτῳ, ἐσενειχθέντος IX.
κως σιδηρίου ἐκράτησε, αὐτίκα δὲ ἐμηχανᾶτο ἀνδρηιότατον
ἔργον πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδομεν· σταθμησάμενος γὰρ ὅκως
ἐξελεύσεταί οἱ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ ποδός, ἀπέταμε τὸν ταρσὸν
ἑωυτοῦ. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας, ὥστε φυλασσόμενος ὑπὸ
φυλάκων, διορύξας τὸν τοῖχον ἀπέδρη ἐς Τεγέην, τὰς μὲν
νύκτας πορευόμενος, τὰς δὲ ἡμέρας καταδύνων ἐς ὕλην
καὶ αὐλιζόμενος, οὕτω ὥστε Λακεδαιμονίων πανδημεὶ
διζημένων τρίτῃ εὐφρόνῃ γενέσθαι ἐν Τεγέῃ, τοὺς δὲ ἐν
θώματι μεγάλῳ ἐνέχεσθαι τῆς τε τόλμης, ὁρῶντας τὸ
ἡμίτομον τοῦ ποδὸς κείμενον κἀκεῖνον οὐ δυναμένους
εὑρεῖν. τότε μὲν οὕτω διαφυγὼν Λακεδαιμονίους κατα-
φεύγει ἐς Τεγέην, ἐοῦσαν οὐκ ἀρθμίην Λακεδαιμονίοισι
τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον· ὑγιὴς δὲ γενόμενος καὶ προσποιησά-
μενος ξύλινον πόδα κατεστήκεε ἐκ τῆς ἰθέης Λακεδαι-
μονίοισι πολέμιος. οὐ μέντοι ἔς γε τέλος οἱ συνήνεικε
τὸ ἔχθος τὸ ἐς Λακεδαιμονίους *συγκεκρημένον· ἤλω
γὰρ μαντευόμενος ἐν Ζακύνθῳ ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπέθανε.
ὁ μέν νυν θάνατος ὁ Ἡγησιστράτου ὕστερον ἐγένετο 38
τῶν Πλαταιικῶν, τότε δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀσωπῷ Μαρδονίῳ μεμι-
σθωμένος οὐκ ὀλίγου ἐθύετό τε καὶ προεθυμέετο κατά τε
τὸ ἔχθος τὸ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ κατὰ τὸ κέρδος. ὡς δὲ
οὐκ ἐκαλλιέρεε ὥστε μάχεσθαι οὔτε αὐτοῖσι Πέρσῃσι
οὔτε τοῖσι μετ' ἐκείνων ἐοῦσι Ἑλλήνων (εἶχον γὰρ καὶ
οὗτοι ἐπ' ἑωυτῶν μάντιν Ἱππόμαχον Λευκάδιον ἄνδρα),
ἐπιρρεόντων δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ γινομένων πλεύνων
Τιμηγενίδης ὁ Ἕρπυος ἀνὴρ Θηβαῖος συνεβούλευσε
Μαρδονίῳ τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος φυλάξαι, λέγων
ὡς ἐπιρρέουσι οἱ Ἕλληνες αἰεὶ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην καὶ
ὡς ἀπολάμψοιτο συχνούς.

IX. cc. 39, 40. *Mardonius seizes the passes of Cithaeron, and captures a number of cattle with the convoy. The delay still goes on for two days, neither army venturing to cross the river.*

39 Ἡμέραι δέ σφι ἀντικατημένοισι ἤδη ἐγεγόνεσαν ὀκτώ, ὅτε ταῦτα ἐκεῖνος συνεβούλευε Μαρδονίῳ. ὁ δὲ μαθὼν τὴν παραίνεσιν εὖ ἔχουσαν, ὡς εὐφρόνη ἐγένετο, πέμπει τὴν ἵππον ἐς τὰς ἐκβολὰς Κιθαιρωνίδας αἳ ἐπὶ Πλαταιέων φέρουσι, τὰς Βοιωτοὶ μὲν Τρεῖς κεφαλὰς καλέουσι, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ Δρυὸς κεφαλάς. πεμφθέντες δὲ οἱ ἱππόται οὐ μάτην ἀπίκοντο· ἐσβάλλοντα γὰρ ἐς τὸ πεδίον λαμβάνουσι ὑποζύγιά τε πεντακόσια, σιτία ἄγοντα ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ ἀνθρώπους οἳ εἵποντο τοῖσι ζεύγεσι. ἑλόντες δὲ ταύτην τὴν ἄγρην οἱ Πέρσαι ἀφειδέως ἐφόνευον, φειδόμενοι οὔτε ὑποζυγίου οὐδενὸς οὔτε ἀνθρώπου. ὡς δὲ ἄδην εἶχον κτείνοντες, τὰ λοιπὰ αὐτῶν ἤλαυνον περιβαλόμενοι παρά τε Μαρδόνιον καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἑτέρας δύο ἡμέρας διέτριψαν, οὐδέτεροι βουλόμενοι μάχης ἄρξαι· μέχρι μὲν γὰρ τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ ἐπήισαν οἱ βάρβαροι πειρώμενοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, διέβαινον δὲ οὐδέτεροι. ἡ μέντοι ἵππος ἡ Μαρδονίου αἰεὶ προσέκειτό τε καὶ ἐλύπεε τοὺς Ἕλληνας· οἱ γὰρ Θηβαῖοι, ἅτε μηδίζοντες μεγάλως, προθύμως ἔφερον τὸν πόλεμον καὶ αἰεὶ κατηγέοντο μέχρι μάχης, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου παραδεκόμενοι Πέρσαι τε καὶ Μῆδοι μάλα ἔσκον οἳ ἀπεδείκνυντο ἀρετάς.

cc. 41–43. *Vexed at the delay which had now gone on for ten days, Mardonius and Artabazus deliberate on the situation. Artabazus is in favour of retiring to Thebes, and using bribery to divide the Greeks; Mardonius wishes to attack at once. He orders an attack for the following day, on the strength of an oracle about Delphi.*

41 Μέχρι μέν νυν τῶν δέκα ἡμερέων οὐδὲν ἐπὶ πλεῦν

ἐγίνετο τούτων· ὡς δὲ ἐνδεκάτη ἐγεγόνεε ἡμέρη ἀντι- IX.
κατημένοισι ἐν Πλαταιῇσι, οἵ τε δὴ Ἕλληνες πολλῷ
πλεῦνες ἐγεγόνεσαν καὶ Μαρδόνιος περιημέκτεε τῇ ἕδρῃ,
ἐνθαῦτα ἐς λόγους ἦλθον Μαρδόνιός τε ὁ Γωβρύεω καὶ
Ἀρτάβαζος ὁ Φαρνάκεος, ὃς ἐν ὀλίγοισι Περσέων ἦν
ἀνὴρ δόκιμος παρὰ Ξέρξῃ. βουλευομένων δὲ αἵδε ἦσαν
αἱ γνῶμαι, ἡ μὲν Ἀρταβάζου ὡς χρεὸν εἴη ἀναζεύξαντας
τὴν ταχίστην πάντα τὸν στρατὸν ἰέναι ἐς τὸ τεῖχος τὸ
Θηβαίων, ἔνθα σῖτόν τέ σφι ἐσενηνεῖχθαι πολλὸν καὶ
χόρτον τοῖσι ὑποζυγίοισι, κατ' ἡσυχίην τε ἱζομένους
διαπρήσσεσθαι ποιεῦντας τάδε· ἔχειν γὰρ χρυσὸν πολλὸν
μὲν ἐπίσημον, πολλὸν δὲ καὶ ἄσημον, πολλὸν δὲ καὶ
ἄργυρόν τε καὶ ἐκπώματα· τούτων φειδομένους μηδενὸς
διαπέμπειν ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, Ἑλλήνων δὲ μάλιστα ἐς
τοὺς προεστεῶτας ἐν τῇσι πόλισι, καὶ ταχέως σφέας
παραδώσειν τὴν ἐλευθερίην, μηδὲ ἀνακινδυνεύειν συμ-
βάλλοντας. τούτου μὲν ἡ αὐτὴ ἐγίνετο καὶ Θηβαίων
γνώμη, ὡς προειδότος πλεῦν τι καὶ τούτου, Μαρδονίου
δὲ ἰσχυροτέρη τε καὶ ἀγνωμονεστέρη καὶ οὐδαμῶς
συγγινωσκομένη· δοκέειν τε γὰρ πολλῷ κρέσσονα εἶναι
τὴν σφετέρην στρατιὴν τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς, συμβάλλειν τε
τὴν ταχίστην μηδὲ περιορᾶν συλλεγομένους ἔτι πλεῦνας
τῶν συλλελεγμένων, τά τε σφάγια τὰ Ἡγησιστράτου
ἐᾶν χαίρειν μηδὲ βιάζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ νόμῳ τῷ Περσέων 42
χρεωμένους συμβάλλειν. τούτου δὲ οὕτω δικαιεῦντος
ἀντέλεγε οὐδείς, ὥστε ἐκράτεε τῇ γνώμῃ· τὸ γὰρ κράτος
εἶχε τῆς στρατιῆς οὗτος ἐκ βασιλέος, ἀλλ' οὐκ Ἀρτά-
βαζος. μεταπεμψάμενος ὦν τοὺς ταξιάρχους τῶν τελέων
καὶ τῶν μετ' ἑωυτοῦ ἐόντων Ἑλλήνων τοὺς στρατηγοὺς
εἰρώτα εἴ τι εἰδεῖεν λόγιον περὶ Περσέων ὡς διαφθερέον-
ται ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι. σιγώντων δὲ τῶν ἐπικλήτων, τῶν

IX. μὲν οὐκ εἰδότων τοὺς χρησμούς, τῶν δὲ εἰδότων μέν, ἐν ἀδείῃ δὲ οὐ ποιευμένων τὸ λέγειν, αὐτὸς Μαρδόνιος ἔλεγε· Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν ὑμεῖς ἢ ἴστε οὐδὲν ἢ οὐ τολμᾶτε λέγειν, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ ἐρέω ὡς εὖ ἐπιστάμενος. ἔστι λόγιον ὡς χρεόν ἐστι Πέρσας ἀπικομένους ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα διαρπάσαι τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι, μετὰ δὲ τὴν διαρπαγὴν ἀπολέσθαι πάντας. ἡμεῖς τοίνυν αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐπιστάμενοι οὔτε ἴμεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τοῦτο οὔτε ἐπιχειρήσομεν διαρπάζειν, ταύτης τε εἵνεκα τῆς αἰτίης οὐκ ἀπολεόμεθα. ὥστε ὑμέων ὅσοι τυγχάνουσι εὔνοοι ἐόντες Πέρσῃσι, ἤδεσθε τοῦδε εἵνεκα ὡς περιεσομένους ἡμέας Ἑλλήνων. ταῦτά σφι εἶπας δεύτερα ἐσήμαινε παραρτέεσθαί τε πάντα καὶ εὐκρινέα ποιέεσθαι ὡς ἅμα ἡμέρῃ τῇ ἐπιούσῃ 43 συμβολὴς ἐσομένης. τοῦτον δ' ἔγωγε τὸν χρησμόν, τὸν Μαρδόνιος εἶπε ἐς Πέρσας ἔχειν, ἐς Ἰλλυριούς τε καὶ τὸν Ἐγχελέων στρατὸν οἶδα πεποιημένον, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐς Πέρσας. ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν Βάκιδι ἐς ταύτην τὴν μάχην † ἐστὶ πεποιημένα,

τὴν δ' ἐπὶ Θερμώδοντι καὶ Ἀσωπῷ λεχεποίῃ
Ἑλλήνων σύνοδον καὶ βαρβαρόφωνον ἰυγήν,
τῇ πολλοὶ πεσέονται ὑπὲρ Λάχεσίν τε μόρον τε
τοξοφόρων Μήδων, ὅταν αἴσιμον ἦμαρ ἐπέλθῃ,

ταῦτα μὲν καὶ παραπλήσια τούτοισι ἄλλα Μουσαίῳ ἔχοντα οἶδα ἐς Πέρσας. ὁ δὲ Θερμώδων ποταμὸς ῥέει μεταξὺ Τανάγρης τε καὶ Γλίσαντος.

cc. 44, 45. *In the night Alexander of Macedon rides up to the pickets of the Athenians and desires to speak with the generals. He informs them that it is the intention of Mardonius to attack the Greeks on the next day.*

44 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπειρώτησιν τῶν χρησμῶν καὶ παραίνεσιν τὴν ἐκ Μαρδονίου νύξ τε ἐγίνετο καὶ ἐς φυλακὰς ἐτάσ-

σοντο. ὡς δὲ πρόσω τῆς νυκτὸς προελήλατο καὶ ἡσυχίη IX.
ἐδόκεε εἶναι ἀνὰ τὰ στρατόπεδα καὶ μάλιστα οἱ ἄνθρωποι
εἶναι ἐν ὕπνῳ, τηνικαῦτα προσελάσας ἵππῳ πρὸς τὰς 5
φυλακὰς τὰς Ἀθηναίων Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Ἀμύντεω, στρατη-
γός τε ἐὼν καὶ βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων, ἐδίζητο τοῖσι
στρατηγοῖσι ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν. τῶν δὲ φυλάκων οἱ μὲν
πλεῦνες παρέμενον, οἱ δ' ἔθεον ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς,
ἐλθόντες δὲ ἔλεγον ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἥκοι ἐπ' ἵππου ἐκ τοῦ 10
στρατοπέδου τοῦ Μήδων, ὃς ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν παραγυμνοῖ
ἔπος, στρατηγοὺς δὲ ὀνομάζων ἐθέλειν φησὶ ἐς λόγους
ἐλθεῖν. οἱ δὲ ἐπεὶ ταῦτα ἤκουσαν, αὐτίκα εἵποντο ἐς 45
τὰς φυλακάς. ἀπικομένοισι δὲ ἔλεγε Ἀλέξανδρος τάδε·
Ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, παραθήκην ὑμῖν τὰ ἔπεα τάδε τίθεμαι,
ἀπόρρητα ποιεύμενος πρὸς μηδένα λέγειν ὑμέας ἄλλον ἢ
Παυσανίην, μή με καὶ διαφθείρητε· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἔλεγον, εἰ 5
μὴ μεγάλως ἐκηδόμην συναπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος. αὐτός
τε γὰρ Ἕλλην γένος εἰμὶ τὠρχαῖον καὶ ἀντ' ἐλευθέρης
δεδουλωμένην οὐκ ἂν ἐθέλοιμι ὁρᾶν τὴν Ἑλλάδα. λέγω
δὲ ὧν ὅτι Μαρδονίῳ τε καὶ τῇ στρατιῇ τὰ σφάγια οὐ
δύναται καταθύμια γενέσθαι· πάλαι γὰρ ἂν ἐμάχεσθε. 10
νῦν δέ οἱ δέδοκται τὰ μὲν σφάγια ἐᾶν χαίρειν, ἅμα ἡμέρῃ
δὲ διαφωσκούσῃ συμβολὴν ποιέεσθαι· καταρρώδηκε γὰρ
μὴ πλεῦνες συλλεχθῆτε, ὡς ἐγὼ εἰκάζω. πρὸς ταῦτα
ἑτοιμάζεσθε. ἢν δὲ ἄρα ὑπερβάληται τὴν συμβολὴν
Μαρδόνιος καὶ μὴ ποιέηται, λιπαρέετε μένοντες· ὀλίγων 15
γάρ σφι ἡμερέων λείπεται σιτία. ἢν δὲ ὑμῖν ὁ πόλεμος
ὅδε κατὰ νόον τελευτήσῃ, μνησθῆναί τινα χρὴ καὶ ἐμεῦ
ἐλευθερώσιος πέρι, ὃς Ἑλλήνων εἵνεκα οὕτω ἔργον
παράβολον ἔργασμαι ὑπὸ προθυμίης, ἐθέλων ὑμῖν δηλῶ-
σαι τὴν διάνοιαν τὴν Μαρδονίου, ἵνα μὴ ἐπιπέσωσι 20
ὑμῖν οἱ βάρβαροι μὴ προσδεκομένοισί κω. εἰμὶ δὲ

IX. Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδών. ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἴπας ἀπήλαυνε ὀπίσω ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ τὴν ἑωυτοῦ τάξιν.

cc. 46, 47. *When the news is brought to Pausanias he proposes to the Athenians to change places with the Spartans (who had never met the Persians). The change is made; but when it is reported to Mardonius, he makes a corresponding change in the position of the Persians and Boeotians. The armies return to their original position.*

46 Οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐλθόντες ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας ἔλεγον Παυσανίῃ τά περ ἤκουσαν Ἀλεξάνδρου. ὁ δὲ τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ καταρρωδήσας τοὺς Πέρσας ἔλεγε τάδε· Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν ἐς ἠῶ ἡ συμβολὴ γίνεται, ὑμέας μὲν χρεόν ἐστι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους στῆναι κατὰ τοὺς Πέρσας, ἡμέας δὲ κατὰ τοὺς Βοιωτούς τε καὶ τοὺς κατ' ὑμέας τεταγμένους Ἑλλήνων, τῶνδε εἵνεκα· ὑμεῖς ἐπίστασθε τοὺς Μήδους καὶ τὴν μάχην αὐτῶν ἐν Μαραθῶνι μαχεσάμενοι, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἄπειροί τέ εἰμεν καὶ ἀδαέες τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν· Σπαρτιητέων γὰρ οὐδεὶς πεπείρηται Μήδων. ἡμεῖς δὲ Βοιωτῶν καὶ Θεσσαλῶν ἔμπειροί εἰμεν. ἀλλ' ἀναλαβόντας τὰ ὅπλα χρεόν ἐστι ἰέναι ὑμέας μὲν ἐς τόδε τὸ κέρας, ἡμέας δὲ ἐς τὸ εὐώνυμον. πρὸς δὲ ταῦτα εἶπαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τάδε· Καὶ αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν πάλαι ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, ἐπείτε εἴδομεν κατ' ὑμέας τασσομένους τοὺς Πέρσας, ἐν νόῳ ἐγένετο εἰπεῖν ταῦτα τά περ ὑμεῖς φθάντες προφέρετε· ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἀρρωδέομεν μὴ ὑμῖν οὐκ ἡδέες γένωνται οἱ λόγοι. ἐπεὶ δ' ὦν αὐτοὶ ἐμνήσθητε, καὶ ἡδομένοισι ἡμῖν οἱ λόγοι γεγόνασι καὶ ἕτοιμοί εἰμεν 47 ποιέειν ταῦτα. ὡς δ' ἤρεσκε ἀμφοτέροισι ταῦτα, ἠώς τε διέφαινε καὶ διαλλάσσοντο τὰς τάξις. γνόντες δὲ οἱ Βοιωτοὶ τὸ ποιεύμενον ἐξαγορεύουσι Μαρδονίῳ. ὁ δ' ἐπείτε ἤκουσε, αὐτίκα μετιστάναι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπειρᾶτο, παράγων τοὺς Πέρσας κατὰ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. ὡς

δὲ ἔμαθε τοῦτο τοιοῦτο γενόμενον ὁ Παυσανίης, γνοὺς IX.
ὅτι οὐ λανθάνει, ὀπίσω ἦγε τοὺς Σπαρτιήτας ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας· ὡς δ' αὕτως καὶ ὁ Μαρδόνιος ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐωνύμου.

c. 48. *Mardonius taunts the Spartans with their desire to escape battle with the Persians, and offers to decide the issue by a conflict between the two.*

Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέστησαν ἐς τὰς ἀρχαίας τάξις, πέμψας ὁ 48
Μαρδόνιος κήρυκα ἐς τοὺς Σπαρτιήτας ἔλεγε τάδε· Ὦ
Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ὑμεῖς δὴ λέγεσθε εἶναι ἄνδρες ἄριστοι
ὑπὸ τῶν τῇδε ἀνθρώπων, ἐκπαγλεομένων ὡς οὔτε φεύγετε
ἐκ πολέμου οὔτε τάξιν ἐκλείπετε, μένοντές τε ἢ ἀπόλλυτε 5
τοὺς ἐναντίους ἢ αὐτοὶ ἀπόλλυσθε. τῶν δ' ἄρ' ἦν οὐδὲν
ἀληθές· πρὶν γὰρ ἢ συμμῖξαι ἡμέας ἐς χεῖρῶν τε νόμον
ἀπικέσθαι, καὶ δὴ φεύγοντας καὶ τάξιν ἐκλείποντας ὑμέας
εἴδομεν, ἐν Ἀθηναίοισί τε τὴν πρόπειραν ποιευμένους
αὐτούς τε ἀντία δούλων τῶν ἡμετέρων τασσομένους. 10
ταῦτα οὐδαμῶς ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔργα, ἀλλὰ πλεῖστον δὴ
ἐν ὑμῖν ἐφεύσθημεν· προσδεκόμενοι γὰρ κατὰ κλέος ὡς
δὴ πέμψετε ἐς ἡμέας κήρυκα προκαλεύμενοι καὶ βουλό-
μενοι μούνοισι Πέρσῃσι μάχεσθαι, ἄρτιοι ἐόντες ποιέειν
ταῦτα οὐδὲν τοιοῦτο λέγοντας ὑμέας εὕρομεν ἀλλὰ 15
πτώσσοντας μᾶλλον. νῦν ὦν ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ὑμεῖς ἤρξατε
τούτου τοῦ λόγου, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς ἄρχομεν. τί δὴ οὐ πρὸ
μὲν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὑμεῖς, ἐπείτε δεδόξωσθε εἶναι ἄριστοι,
πρὸ δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων ἡμεῖς ἴσοι πρὸς ἴσους ἀριθμὸν
ἐμαχεσάμεθα; καὶ ἦν μὲν δοκέῃ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους 20
μάχεσθαι, οἱ δ' ὦν μετέπειτα μαχέσθων ὕστεροι· εἰ δὲ
καὶ μὴ δοκέοι ἀλλ' ἡμέας μούνους ἀποχρᾶν, ἡμεῖς δὲ
διαμαχεσώμεθα· ὁκότεροι δ' ἂν ἡμέων νικήσωσι, τούτους
τῷ ἅπαντι στρατοπέδῳ νικᾶν.

IX. c. 49. *The challenge is declined. Mardonius begins the attack with his horse, which seriously distresses the Greeks, cutting them off from water and supplies.*

49 Ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἴπας τε καὶ ἐπισχὼν χρόνον, ὡς οἱ οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν ὑπεκρίνετο, ἀπαλλάσσετο ὀπίσω, ἀπελθὼν δὲ ἐσήμαινε Μαρδονίῳ τὰ καταλαβόντα. ὁ δὲ περιχαρὴς γενόμενος καὶ ἐπαερθεὶς ψυχρῇ νίκῃ ἐπῆκε τὴν ἵππον ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας. ὡς δὲ ἐπήλασαν οἱ ἱππόται, ἐσίνοντο πᾶσαν τὴν στρατιὴν τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν ἐσακοντίζοντές τε καὶ ἐστοξεύοντες ὥστε ἱπποτοξόται τε ἐόντες καὶ προσφέρεσθαι ἄποροι· τήν τε κρήνην τὴν Γαργαφίην, ἀπ' ἧς ὑδρεύετο πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, συνετάραξαν καὶ συνέχωσαν. ἦσαν μὲν ὦν κατὰ τὴν κρήνην Λακεδαιμόνιοι τεταγμένοι μοῦνοι, τοῖσι δὲ ἄλλοισι Ἕλλησι ἡ μὲν κρήνη πρόσω ἐγίνετο, ὡς ἕκαστοι ἔτυχον τεταγμένοι, ὁ δὲ Ἀσωπὸς ἀγχοῦ· ἐρυκόμενοι δὲ τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ οὕτω δὴ ἐπὶ τὴν κρήνην ἐφοίτων· ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ γάρ σφι οὐκ ἐξῆν ὕδωρ φορέεσθαι ὑπό τε τῶν ἱππέων καὶ τοξευμάτων.

cc. 50, 51. *The Greeks resolve, if the general attack is deferred till the following day, to descend into the 'island' about a mile and a quarter from their present position in the direction of Plataea.*

50 Τούτου δὲ τοιούτου γινομένου οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατηγοί, ἅτε τοῦ τε ὕδατος στερηθείσης τῆς στρατιῆς καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἵππου ταρασσομένης, συνελέχθησαν περὶ αὐτῶν τε τούτων καὶ ἄλλων, ἐλθόντες παρὰ Παυσανίην ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας. ἄλλα γὰρ τούτων τοιούτων ἐόντων μᾶλλόν σφεας ἐλύπεε· οὔτε γὰρ σιτία εἶχον ἔτι, οἵ τέ σφεων ὀπέωνες ἀποπεμφθέντες ἐς Πελοπόννησον ὡς ἐπισιτιεύμενοι ἀπεκεκλήιατο ὑπὸ τῆς ἵππου, οὐ δυνάμενοι ἀπικέσθαι

ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον. βουλευομένοισι δὲ τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι IX.
ἔδοξε, ἣν ὑπερβάλωνται ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέρην οἱ Πέρσαι 51
συμβολὴν μὴ ποιεύμενοι, ἐς τὴν νῆσον ἰέναι. ἡ δέ ἐστι
ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ καὶ τῆς κρήνης τῆς Γαργαφίης, ἐπ' ἧ
ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο τότε, δέκα σταδίους ἀπέχουσα, πρὸ τῆς 5
Πλαταιέων πόλιος. νῆσος δὲ οὕτω ἂν εἴη ἐν ἠπείρῳ·
σχιζόμενος ὁ ποταμὸς ἄνωθεν ἐκ τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος ῥέει
κάτω ἐς τὸ πεδίον, διέχων ἀπ' ἀλλήλων τὰ ῥέεθρα ὅσον
περ τρία στάδια, καὶ ἔπειτα συμμίσγει ἐς τὠυτό· οὔνομα
δέ οἱ Ὠρερόη. θυγατέρα δὲ ταύτην λέγουσι εἶναι Ἀσωποῦ 10
οἱ ἐπιχώριοι. ἐς τοῦτον δὴ τὸν χῶρον ἐβουλεύσαντο
μεταναστῆναι, ἵνα καὶ ὕδατι ἔχωσι χρᾶσθαι ἀφθόνῳ
καὶ οἱ ἵππέες σφέας μὴ σινοίατο ὥσπερ κατ' ἰθὺ ἐόντων·
μετακινέεσθαί τε ἐδόκεε τότε ἐπεὰν τῆς νυκτὸς ᾖ δευτέρη
φυλακή, ὡς ἂν μὴ ἰδοίατο οἱ Πέρσαι ἐξορμεομένους καί 15
σφεας ἑπόμενοι ταράσσοιεν οἱ ἱππόται. ἀπικομένων
δὲ ἐς τὸν χῶρον τοῦτον, τὸν δὴ ἡ Ἀσωπὶς Ὠρερόη
περισχίζεται ῥέουσα ἐκ τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος, ὑπὸ τὴν νύκτα
ταύτην ἐδόκεε τοὺς ἡμίσεας ἀποστέλλειν τοῦ στρατο-
πέδου πρὸς τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα, ὡς ἀναλάβοιεν τοὺς ὀπέωνας 20
τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰ σιτία οἰχομένους· ἦσαν γὰρ ἐν τῷ Κιθαιρῶνι
ἀπολελαμμένοι.

c. 52. *In the night, when the time arrives for the movement, the greater part of the army rush past the island to the Heraeum of Plataea. The Athenians and the Lacedaemonians remain where they were.*

Ταῦτα βουλευσάμενοι κείνην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην πᾶσαν 52
προσκειμένης τῆς ἵππου εἶχον πόνον ἄτρυτον· ὡς δὲ
ἥ τε ἡμέρη ἔληγε καὶ οἱ ἱππέες ἐπέπαυντο, νυκτὸς
δὴ γινομένης καὶ ἐούσης τῆς ὥρης ἐς τὴν δὴ συνέκειτό
σφι ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, ἐνθαῦτα ἀερθέντες οἱ πολλοὶ ἀπαλ- 5

IX. λάσσοντο, ἐς μὲν τὸν χῶρον ἐς τὸν συνέκειτο οὐκ ἐν νόῳ ἔχοντες, οἱ δὲ ὡς ἐκινήθησαν, ἔφευγον ἄσμενοι τὴν ἵππον πρὸς τὴν Πλαταιέων πόλιν, φεύγοντες δὲ ἀπικνέονται ἐπὶ τὸ Ἥραιον. τὸ δὲ πρὸ τῆς πόλιός ἐστι τῆς Πλαταιέων, εἴκοσι σταδίους ἀπὸ τῆς κρήνης τῆς Γαργαφίης ἀπέχον. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἔθεντο πρὸ τοῦ ἱροῦ τὰ ὅπλα.

c. 53 *Pausanias gives the word to retire, but Amompharetus, who is in charge of the Pitanitae, refuses. His obstinacy causes great difficulties.*

53 Καὶ οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸ Ἥραιον ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο, Παυσανίης δὲ ὁρέων σφέας ἀπαλλασσομένους ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου παρήγγελλε καὶ τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι ἀναλαβόντας τὰ ὅπλα ἰέναι κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς προϊόντας, νομίσας αὐτοὺς ἐς τὸν χῶρον ἰέναι ἐς τὸν συνεθήκαντο. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἄρτιοι ἦσαν τῶν ταξιάρχων πείθεσθαι Παυσανίῃ, Ἀμομφάρετος δὲ ὁ Πολιάδεω λοχηγέων τοῦ Πιτανητέων λόχου οὐκ ἔφη τοὺς ξείνους φεύξεσθαι οὐδὲ ἑκὼν εἶναι αἰσχυνέειν τὴν Σπάρτην, ἐθώμαζέ τε ὁρέων τὸ ποιεύμενον ἅτε οὐ παραγενόμενος τῷ προτέρῳ λόγῳ. ὁ δὲ Παυσανίης τε καὶ ὁ Εὐρυάναξ δεινὸν μὲν ἐποιεῦντο τὸ μὴ πείθεσθαι ἐκεῖνον σφίσι, δεινότερον δὲ ἔτι κείνου ταῦτ' ἀναινομένου ἀπολιπεῖν τὸν λόχον τὸν Πιτανήτην, μὴ ἦν ἀπολίπωσι ποιεῦντες τὰ συνεθήκαντο τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Ἕλλησι, ἀπόληται ὑπολειφθεὶς αὐτός τε Ἀμομφάρετος καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ. ταῦτα λογιζόμενοι ἀτρέμας εἶχον τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Λακωνικὸν καὶ ἐπειρῶντο πείθοντές μιν ὡς οὐ χρεὸν εἴη ταῦτα ποιέειν.

cc. 54, 55. *The Athenians, who distrust the Spartans, send a horseman to see what they are doing. The envoy finds Pausanias with Amompharetus. Pausanias explains the situation, and begs the Athenians to close up to them (the left wing to the right).*

IX.

54 Καὶ οἱ μὲν παρηγόρεον Ἀμομφάρετον μοῦνον Λακεδαιμονίων τε καὶ Τεγεητέων λελειμμένον, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐποίευν τοιάδε· εἶχον ἀτρέμας σφέας αὐτοὺς ἵνα ἐτάχθησαν, ἐπιστάμενοι τὰ Λακεδαιμονίων φρονήματα ὡς ἄλλα φρονεόντων καὶ ἄλλα λεγόντων. ὡς δὲ ἐκινήθη τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἔπεμπον σφέων ἱππέα ὀψόμενόν τε εἰ πορεύεσθαι ἐπιχειρέοιεν οἱ Σπαρτιῆται, εἴτε καὶ τὸ παράπαν μὴ διανοεῦνται ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, ἐπειρέσθαί τε Παυσανίην τὸ χρεὸν εἴη ποιέειν. ὡς δὲ ἀπίκετο ὁ **55** κῆρυξ ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, ὥρα τέ σφεας κατὰ χώρην τεταγμένους καὶ ἐς νείκεα ἀπιγμένους αὐτῶν τοὺς πρώτους. ὡς γὰρ δὴ παρηγόρεον τὸν Ἀμομφάρετον ὅ τε Εὐρυάναξ καὶ ὁ Παυσανίης μὴ κινδυνεύειν μένοντας μούνους *Λακεδαιμονίων, οὔ κως ἔπειθον, ἐς ὃ ἐς νείκεά τε συμπεσόντες ἀπίκατο καὶ ὁ κῆρυξ τῶν Ἀθηναίων παρίστατό σφι ἀπιγμένος. νεικέων δὲ ὁ Ἀμομφάρετος λαμβάνει πέτρου ἀμφοτέρῃσι τῇσι χερσὶ καὶ τιθεὶς πρὸ ποδῶν τῶν Παυσανίεω ταύτῃ τῇ ψήφῳ ψηφίζεσθαι ἔφη μὴ φεύγειν τοὺς ξείνους, λέγων τοὺς βαρβάρους. ὁ δὲ μαινόμενον καὶ οὐ φρενήρεα καλέων ἐκεῖνον † πρός τε τὸν Ἀθηναίων κήρυκα ἐπειρωτῶντα τὰ ἐντεταλμένα λέγειν ὁ Παυσανίης ἐκέλευε τὰ παρεόντα σφι πρήγματα, ἐχρήιζέ τε τῶν Ἀθηναίων προσχωρῆσαί τε πρὸς ἑωυτοὺς καὶ ποιέειν περὶ τῆς ἀπόδου τά περ ἂν καὶ σφεῖς.

IX. cc. 56, 57. *The Spartans retire along the hills, the Athenians towards the plain (of the Asopus), Amompharetus finding himself deserted follows, and overtakes the Spartans on the Moloeis, where they are attacked by the Persian horse.*

56 Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀπαλλάσσετο ἐς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους· τοὺς δὲ ἐπεὶ ἀνακρινομένους πρὸς ἑωυτοὺς ἠὼς κατελάμβανε, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ κατήμενος ὁ Παυσανίης, οὐ δοκέων τὸν Ἀμομφάρετον λείψεσθαι τῶν ἄλλων Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποστειχόντων, τὰ δὴ καὶ ἐγένετο, σημήνας ἀπῆγε διὰ τῶν κολωνῶν τοὺς λοιποὺς πάντας· εἵποντο δὲ καὶ Τεγεῆται. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ταχθέντες ἧισαν τὰ ἔμπαλιν ἢ Λακεδαιμόνιοι· οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῶν τε ὄχθων ἀντείχοντο καὶ τῆς ὑπωρέης τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος, φοβεόμενοι τὴν ἵππον, 57 Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ κάτω τραφθέντες ἐς τὸ πεδίον. Ἀμομφάρετος δὲ ἀρχήν *γε οὐδαμὰ δοκέων Παυσανίην τολμήσειν σφέας ἀπολιπεῖν περιείχετο αὐτοῦ μένοντας μὴ ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν τάξιν· προτερεόντων δὲ τῶν σὺν Παυσανίῃ, καταδόξας αὐτοὺς ἰθέῃ τέχνῃ ἀπολείπειν αὐτόν, ἀναλαβόντα τὸν λόχον τὰ ὅπλα ἦγε βάδην πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στῖφος. τὸ δὲ ἀπελθὸν ὅσον τε δέκα στάδια ἀνέμενε τὸν Ἀμομφαρέτου λόχον, περὶ ποταμὸν Μολόεντα ἱδρυμένον Ἀργιόπιόν τε χῶρον καλεόμενον, τῇ καὶ Δήμητρος Ἐλευσινίης ἱρὸν ἧσται· ἀνέμενε δὲ τοῦδε εἵνεκα, ἵνα ἢν μὴ ἀπολείπῃ τὸν χῶρον ἐν τῷ ἐτετάχατο ὁ Ἀμομφάρετός τε καὶ ὁ λόχος, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ μένωσι, βοηθέοι ὀπίσω παρ' ἐκείνους. καὶ οἵ τε ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀμομφάρετον παρεγίνοντό σφι καὶ ἡ ἵππος ἡ τῶν βαρβάρων προσέκειτο πᾶσα. οἱ γὰρ ἱππόται ἐποίευν οἷον καὶ ἐώθεσαν ποιέειν αἰεί, ἰδόντες δὲ τὸν χῶρον κεινὸν ἐν τῷ ἐτετάχατο οἱ Ἕλληνες τῇσι προτέρῃσι ἡμέρῃσι, ἤλαυνον τοὺς ἵππους αἰεὶ τὸ πρόσω καὶ ἅμα καταλαβόντες προσεκέατό σφι.

c. 58. *Mardonius points out to the Thessalian chiefs how mistaken they were in their judgment of the Spartans, who are now running away, as before they sought to escape a conflict with the Persians. He is resolved that the king shall hear of the cowardice of Artabazus, who wished to retire before such troops. He orders a general advance.* IX.

58 Μαρδόνιος δὲ ὡς ἐπύθετο τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἀποιχο-
μένους ὑπὸ νύκτα εἰδέ τε τὸν χῶρον ἔρημον, καλέσας
τὸν Ληρισαῖον Θώρηκα καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφεοὺς αὐτοῦ
Εὐρύπυλον καὶ Θρασυδήιον ἔλεγε· Ὦ παῖδες Ἀλεύεω,
ἔτι τί λέξετε τάδε ὁρῶντες ἔρημα; ὑμεῖς γὰρ οἱ πλη- 5
σιόχωροι ἐλέγετε Λακεδαιμονίους οὐ φεύγειν ἐκ μάχης,
ἀλλὰ ἄνδρας εἶναι τὰ πολέμια πρώτους· τοὺς πρότερόν
τε μετισταμένους ἐκ τῆς τάξιος εἴδετε, νῦν τε ὑπὸ τὴν
παροιχομένην νύκτα καὶ οἱ πάντες ὁρῶμεν διαδράντας·
διέδεξάν τε, ἐπεί σφεας ἔδεε πρὸς τοὺς ἀψευδέως ἀρί- 10
στους ἀνθρώπων μάχῃ διακριθῆναι, ὅτι οὐδένες ἄρα
ἐόντες ἐν οὐδαμοῖσι ἐοῦσι Ἕλλησι ἐναπεδεικνύατο. καὶ
ὑμῖν μὲν ἐοῦσι Περσέων ἀπείροισι πολλὴ ἔκ γε ἐμεῦ
ἐγίνετο συγγνώμη, ἐπαινεόντων τούτους τοῖσί τι καὶ
συνηδέατε· Ἀρταβάζου δὲ θῶμα καὶ μᾶλλον ἐποιεύμην 15
τὸ καὶ καταρρωδῆσαι Λακεδαιμονίους καταρρωδήσαντά
τε ἀποδέξασθαι γνώμην δειλοτάτην, ὡς χρεὸν εἴη ἀνα-
ζεύξαντας τὸ στρατόπεδον ἰέναι ἐς τὸ Θηβαίων ἄστυ
πολιορκησομένους· τὴν ἔτι πρὸς ἐμεῦ βασιλεὺς πεύ-
σεται. καὶ τούτων μὲν ἐτέρωθι ἔσται λόγος· νῦν δὲ 20
ἐκείνοισι ταῦτα ποιεῦσι οὐκ ἐπιτρεπτέα ἐστί, ἀλλὰ διω-
κτέοι εἰσὶ ἐς ὃ καταλαμφθέντες δώσουσι ἡμῖν τῶν δὴ
ἐποίησαν Πέρσας πάντων δίκας.

IX. cc. 59, 60. *The Persians cross the Asopus followed by the rest of the barbarians. Pausanias sends to the Athenians for help against the Persian horse.*

59 Ταῦτα εἶπας ἦγε τοὺς Πέρσας δρόμῳ διαβάντας τὸν
Ἀσωπὸν κατὰ στίβον τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὡς δὴ ἀποδιδρη-
σκόντων, ἐπείχε τε ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίους τε καὶ Τεγεήτας
μούνους· Ἀθηναίους γὰρ τραπομένους ἐς τὸ πεδίον ὑπὸ
5 τῶν ὄχθων οὐ κατώρα. Πέρσας δὲ ὁρῶντες ὁρμημένους
διώκειν τοὺς Ἕλληνας οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν βαρβαρικῶν τελέων
ἄρχοντες αὐτίκα πάντες ἤειραν τὰ σημήια καὶ ἐδίωκον ὡς
ποδῶν ἕκαστος εἶχον, οὔτε κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ κοσμηθέντες
60 οὔτε τάξι. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν βοῇ τε καὶ ὁμίλῳ ἐπήισαν ὡς
ἀναρπασόμενοι τοὺς Ἕλληνας· Παυσανίης δέ, ὡς προσ-
έκειτο ἡ ἵππος, πέμψας πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἱππέα
λέγει τάδε· Ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀγῶνος μεγίστου προ-
5 κειμένου ἐλευθέρην εἶναι ἢ δεδουλωμένην τὴν Ἑλλάδα,
προδεδόμεθα ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων ἡμεῖς τε οἱ Λακεδαι-
μόνιοι καὶ ὑμεῖς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὑπὸ τὴν παροιχομένην
νύκτα διαδράντων. νῦν ὦν δέδοκται τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν τὸ
ποιητέον ἡμῖν· ἀμυνομένους γὰρ τῇ δυνάμεθα ἄριστα
10 περιστέλλειν ἀλλήλους. εἰ μέν νυν ἐς ὑμέας ὥρμησε
ἀρχὴν ἡ ἵππος, χρῆν δὴ ἡμέας τε καὶ τοὺς μετ᾽ ἡμέων
τὴν Ἑλλάδα οὐ προδιδόντας Τεγεήτας βοηθέειν ὑμῖν·
νῦν δέ, ἐς ἡμέας γὰρ ἅπασα κεχώρηκε, δίκαιοί ἐστε
ὑμεῖς πρὸς τὴν πιεζομένην μάλιστα τῶν μοιρέων ἀμυ-
15 νέοντες ἰέναι. εἰ δ᾽ ἄρα αὐτοὺς ὑμέας καταλελάβηκε
ἀδύνατόν τι βοηθέειν, ὑμεῖς δ᾽ ἡμῖν τοὺς τοξότας ἀπο-
πέμψαντες χάριν θέσθε. συνοίδαμεν δὲ ὑμῖν ὑπὸ τὸν
παρεόντα τόνδε πόλεμον ἐοῦσι πολλὸν προθυμοτάτοισι,
ὥστε καὶ ταῦτα ἐσακούειν.

cc. 61–65. *The Athenians cannot come, being now engaged. The Spartans, who are unable to obtain favourable omens, suffer severely. The prayer of Pausanias brings about a change. Fierce conflict of the Lacedaemonians and Tegeans with the Persians. Death of Mardonius. The Persians are routed and fly to their camp and fortified position in the Thebaid. The thickest of the fight took place at the temple of Demeter.* IX.

Ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὡς ἐπύθοντο, ὁρμέατο βοηθέειν 61
καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐπαμύνειν· καί σφι ἤδη στείχουσι
ἐπιτίθενται οἱ ἀντιταχθέντες Ἑλλήνων τῶν μετὰ βασι-
λέος γενομένων, ὥστε μηκέτι δύνασθαι βοηθῆσαι· τὸ
γὰρ προσκείμενόν σφεας ἐλύπεε. οὕτω δὴ μουνωθέντες 5
Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Τεγεῆται, ἐόντες σὺν ψιλοῖσι ἀριθμὸν
οἱ μὲν πεντακισμύριοι, Τεγεῆται δὲ τρισχίλιοι (οὗτοι γὰρ
οὐδαμὰ ἀπεσχίζοντο ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων), ἐσφαγιάζοντο
ὡς συμβαλέοντες Μαρδονίῳ καὶ τῇ στρατιῇ τῇ παρεούσῃ.
καὶ οὐ γάρ σφι ἐγίνετο τὰ σφάγια χρηστά, ἔπιπτον δὲ 10
αὐτῶν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ πολλοὶ καὶ πολλῷ πλεῦνες
ἐτρωματίζοντο· φράξαντες γὰρ τὰ γέρρα οἱ Πέρσαι
ἀπίεσαν τῶν τοξευμάτων πολλὰ ἀφειδέως, οὕτω ὥστε
πιεζομένων τῶν Σπαρτιητέων καὶ τῶν σφαγίων οὐ
γινομένων ἀποβλέψαντα τὸν Παυσανίην πρὸς τὸ Ἥραιον 15
τὸ Πλαταιέων ἐπικαλέσασθαι τὴν θεόν, χρηίζοντα
μηδαμῶς σφέας ψευσθῆναι τῆς ἐλπίδος. ταῦτα δ' ἔτι 62
τούτου ἐπικαλεομένου προεξαναστάντες πρότεροι οἱ
Τεγεῆται ἐχώρεον ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους, καὶ τοῖσι Λακε-
δαιμονίοισι αὐτίκα μετὰ τὴν εὐχὴν τὴν Παυσανίεω
ἐγίνετο θυομένοισι τὰ σφάγια χρηστά. ὡς δὲ χρόνῳ 5
κοτὲ ἐγένετο, ἐχώρεον καὶ οὗτοι ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας, καὶ οἱ
Πέρσαι ἀντίοι τὰ τόξα μετέντες. ἐγίνετο δὲ πρῶτον
περὶ τὰ γέρρα μάχη. ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἐπεπτώκεε, ἤδη
ἐγίνετο μάχη ἰσχυρὴ παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ Δημήτριον καὶ χρόνον

IX. ἐπὶ πολλόν, ἐς ὃ ἀπίκοντο ἐς ὠθισμόν· τὰ γὰρ δόρατα
11 ἐπιλαμβανόμενοι κατέκλων οἱ βάρβαροι. λήματι μέν
νυν καὶ ῥώμῃ οὐκ ἥσσονες ἦσαν οἱ Πέρσαι, ἄνοπλοι δὲ
ἐόντες καὶ πρὸς ἀνεπιστήμονες ἦσαν καὶ οὐκ ὅμοιοι τοῖσι
ἐναντίοισι σοφίην. προεξαΐσσοντες δὲ κατ' ἕνα καὶ δέκα
15 καὶ πλεῦνές τε καὶ ἐλάσσονες συστρεφόμενοι ἐσέπιπτον
63 ἐς τοὺς Σπαρτιήτας καὶ διεφθείροντο. τῇ δὲ ἐτύγχανε
αὐτὸς ἐὼν Μαρδόνιος, ἀπ' ἵππου τε μαχόμενος λευκοῦ
ἔχων τε περὶ ἑωυτὸν λογάδας Περσέων τοὺς ἀρίστους
χιλίους, ταύτῃ δὲ καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐπίεσαν.
5 ὅσον μέν νυν χρόνον Μαρδόνιος περιῆν, οἱ δὲ ἀντεῖχον
καὶ ἀμυνόμενοι κατέβαλλον πολλοὺς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων·
ὡς δὲ Μαρδόνιος ἀπέθανε καὶ τὸ περὶ ἐκεῖνον τεταγμένον,
ἐὸν ἰσχυρότατον, ἔπεσε, οὕτω δὴ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἐτράποντο
καὶ εἶξαν τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι. πλεῖστον γάρ σφεας
10 ἐδηλέετο ἡ ἐσθής, ἔρημος ἐοῦσα ὅπλων· πρὸς γὰρ
64 ὁπλίτας ἐόντες γυμνῆτες ἀγῶνα ἐποιεῦντο. ἐνθαῦτα
ἥ τε δίκη τοῦ φόνου τοῦ Λεωνίδεω κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριον
τοῖσι Σπαρτιήτῃσι ἐκ Μαρδονίου ἐπετελέετο καὶ νίκην
ἀναιρέεται καλλίστην ἁπασέων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν Παυ-
5 σανίης ὁ Κλεομβρότου τοῦ Ἀναξανδρίδεω. τῶν δὲ
κατύπερθέ οἱ προγόνων τὰ οὐνόματα εἴρηται ἐς Λεωνί-
δην· οὗτοι γάρ σφι τυγχάνουσι ἐόντες. ἀποθνήσκει δὲ
Μαρδόνιος ὑπὸ Ἀριμνήστου ἀνδρὸς ἐν Σπάρτῃ λογίμου,
ὃς χρόνῳ ὕστερον μετὰ τὰ Μηδικὰ ἔχων ἄνδρας τριηκο-
10 σίους συνέβαλε ἐν Στενυκλήρῳ πολέμου ἐόντος Μεσ-
σηνίοισι πᾶσι καὶ αὐτός τε ἀπέθανε καὶ οἱ τριηκόσιοι.
65 ἐν δὲ Πλαταιῇσι οἱ Πέρσαι ὡς ἐτράποντο ὑπὸ τῶν
Λακεδαιμονίων, ἔφευγον οὐδένα κόσμον ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον
τὸ ἑωυτῶν καὶ ἐς τὸ τεῖχος τὸ ξύλινον τὸ ἐποιήσαντο ἐν
μοίρῃ τῇ Θηβαΐδι. θῶμα δέ μοι ὅκως παρὰ τῆς Δήμητρος

τὸ ἄλσος μαχομένων οὐδὲ εἷς ἐφάνη τῶν Περσέων οὔτε IX.
ἐσελθὼν ἐς τὸ τέμενος οὔτε ἐναποθανών, περί τε τὸ ἱρὸν 6
οἱ πλεῖστοι ἐν τῷ βεβήλῳ ἔπεσον. δοκέω δέ, εἴ τι περὶ
τῶν θείων πρηγμάτων δοκέειν δεῖ, ἡ θεὸς αὐτή σφεας
οὐκ ἐδέκετο ἐμπρήσαντας τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι
ἀνάκτορον. 10

c. 66. *Treacherous conduct of Artabazus, who with* 40,000 *men fled to the Phocians, when he saw how the battle turned.*

Αὕτη μέν νυν ἡ μάχη ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο ἐγένετο· Ἀρτά- 66
βαζος δὲ ὁ Φαρνάκεος αὐτίκα τε οὐκ ἠρέσκετο κατ'
ἀρχὰς λειπομένου Μαρδονίου ἀπὸ βασιλέος, καὶ τότε
πολλὰ ἀπαγορεύων οὐδὲν ἤνυε, συμβάλλειν οὐκ ἐῶν·
ἐποίησέ τε αὐτὸς τοιάδε ὡς οὐκ ἀρεσκόμενος τοῖσι 5
πρήγμασι τοῖσι ἐκ Μαρδονίου ποιευμένοισι. τῶν ἐστρα-
τήγεε Ἀρτάβαζος (εἶχε δὲ δύναμιν οὐκ ὀλίγην ἀλλὰ καὶ
ἐς τέσσερας μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων περὶ ἑωυτόν), τούτους,
ὅκως ἡ συμβολὴ ἐγίνετο, εὖ ἐξεπιστάμενος τὰ ἔμελλε
ἀποβήσεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης, ἦγε κατηρτημένους, παραγ- 10
γείλας κατὰ τὠυτὸ ἰέναι πάντας τῇ ἂν αὐτὸς ἐξηγέηται,
ὅκως ἂν αὐτὸν ὁρῶσι σπουδῇς ἔχοντα. ταῦτα παραγ-
γείλας ὡς ἐς μάχην ἦγε δῆθεν τὸν στρατόν· προτερέων δὲ
τῆς ὁδοῦ ὥρα καὶ δὴ φεύγοντας τοὺς Πέρσας. οὕτω δὴ
οὐκέτι τὸν αὐτὸν κόσμον κατηγέετο, ἀλλὰ τὴν ταχίστην 15
ἐτρόχαζε φεύγων οὔτε ἐς τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος οὔτε ἐς τὸ
Θηβαίων τεῖχος ἀλλ' ἐς Φωκέας, ἐθέλων ὡς τάχιστα ἐπὶ
τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἀπικέσθαι.

cc. 67, 68. *Severe conflict of the Boeotians and Athenians. The rest of the Medizing Greeks fled when they saw the Persians routed, but their flight was partly covered by the Boeotian horse.*

Καὶ δὴ οὗτοι μὲν ταύτῃ ἐτράποντο· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων 67

IX. Ἑλλήνων τῶν μετὰ βασιλέος ἐθελοκακεόντων Βοιωτοὶ Ἀθηναίοισι ἐμαχέσαντο χρόνον ἐπὶ συχνόν. οἱ γὰρ μηδίζοντες τῶν Θηβαίων, οὗτοι εἶχον προθυμίην οὐκ ὀλίγην μαχόμενοί τε καὶ οὐκ ἐθελοκακέοντες, οὕτω ὥστε τριηκόσιοι αὐτῶν οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ ἄριστοι ἐνθαῦτα ἔπεσον ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων· ὡς δὲ ἐτράποντο καὶ οὗτοι, ἔφευγον ἐς τὰς Θήβας, οὐ τῇ περ οἱ Πέρσαι, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων ὁ πᾶς ὅμιλος οὔτε διαμαχεσάμενος οὐδενὶ οὔτε
68 τι ἀποδεξάμενος, ἔφευγον. δηλοῖ τέ μοι ὅτι πάντα τὰ πρήγματα τῶν βαρβάρων ἤρτητο ἐκ Περσέων, εἰ καὶ τότε οὗτοι πρὶν ἢ καὶ συμμῖξαι τοῖσι πολεμίοισι ἔφευγον, ὅτι καὶ τοὺς Πέρσας ὥρων. οὕτω τε πάντες ἔφευγον πλὴν τῆς ἵππου τῆς τε ἄλλης καὶ τῆς Βοιωτίης· αὕτη δὲ τοσαῦτα προσωφέλεε τοὺς φεύγοντας, αἰεί τε πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἄγχιστα ἐοῦσα ἀπέργουσά τε τοὺς φιλίους φεύγοντας ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. οἱ μὲν δὴ νικῶντες εἵποντο τοὺς Ξέρξεω διώκοντές τε καὶ φονεύοντες.

c. 69. *The Greeks at the Heraeum* (*c.* 52) *now hear of the battle, and hurry up to the scene of action. The Megarians and Phliasians severely handled by the Theban cavalry.*

69 Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ γινομένῳ φόβῳ ἀγγέλλεται τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Ἕλλησι τοῖσι τεταγμένοισι περὶ τὸ Ἥραιον καὶ ἀπογενομένοισι τῆς μάχης, ὅτι μάχη τε γέγονε καὶ νικῶεν οἱ μετὰ Παυσανίεω· οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα, οὐδένα κόσμον ταχθέντες, οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ Κορινθίους ἐτράποντο διὰ τῆς ὑπωρέης καὶ τῶν κολωνῶν τὴν φέρουσαν ἄνω ἰθὺ τοῦ ἱροῦ τῆς Δήμητρος, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Μεγαρέας τε καὶ Φλιασίους διὰ τοῦ πεδίου τὴν λειοτάτην τῶν ὁδῶν. ἐπείτε δὲ ἀγχοῦ τῶν πολεμίων ἐγίνοντο οἱ Μεγαρέες καὶ Φλιάσιοι, ἀπιδόντες σφέας οἱ Θηβαίων ἱππόται ἐπειγομένους οὐδένα κόσμον ἤλαυνον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τοὺς

ἵππους, τῶν ἱππάρχεε Ἀσωπόδωρος ὁ Τιμάνδρου. ἐσ- IX.
πεσόντες δὲ κατεστόρεσαν αὐτῶν ἑξακοσίους, τοὺς δὲ
λοιποὺς κατήραξαν διώκοντες ἐς τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα. οὗτοι
μὲν δὴ ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἀπώλοντο.

c. 70. *Battle at the fortified camp, which is stormed with the aid of the Athenians, the Tegeans being, however, the first to enter the fort. Great slaughter; only* 3000 *are left of the* 260,000 *soldiers of Mardonius. Loss of the Greeks.*

Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι καὶ ὁ ἄλλος ὅμιλος, ὡς κατέφυγον ἐς τὸ 70
ξύλινον τεῖχος, ἔφθησαν ἐπὶ τοὺς πύργους ἀναβάντες πρὶν
ἢ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἀπικέσθαι, ἀναβάντες δὲ ἐφρά-
ξαντο ὡς ἠδυνέατο ἄριστα τὸ τεῖχος. προσελθόντων δὲ
τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων κατεστήκεέ σφι τειχομαχίη ἐρρωμενε-
στέρη. ἕως μὲν γὰρ ἀπῆσαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, οἱ δ' ἠμύ-
νοντο καὶ πολλῷ πλέον εἶχον τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ὥστε
οὐκ ἐπισταμένων τειχομαχέειν· ὡς δέ σφι Ἀθηναῖοι
προσῆλθον, οὕτω δὴ ἰσχυρὴ ἐγίνετο τειχομαχίη καὶ
χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλόν. τέλος δὲ ἀρετῇ τε καὶ λιπαρίῃ
ἐπέβησαν Ἀθηναῖοι τοῦ τείχεος καὶ ἤριπον, τῇ δὴ
ἐσεχέοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες. πρῶτοι δὲ ἐσῆλθον Τεγεῆται
ἐς τὸ τεῖχος, καὶ τὴν σκηνὴν τὴν Μαρδονίου οὗτοι
ἦσαν οἱ διαρπάσαντες, τά τε ἄλλα ἐξ αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν
φάτνην τῶν ἵππων, ἐοῦσαν χαλκέην πᾶσαν καὶ θέης
ἀξίην. τὴν μέν νυν φάτνην ταύτην τὴν Μαρδονίου
ἀνέθεσαν ἐς τὸν νηὸν τῆς Ἀλέης Ἀθηναίης Τεγεῆται,
τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἐς τὠυτό, ὅσα περ ἔλαβον, ἐσήνεικαν τοῖσι
Ἕλλησι. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι οὐδὲν ἔτι στῖφος ἐποιήσαντο
πεσόντος τοῦ τείχεος, οὔτε τις αὐτῶν ἀλκῆς ἐμέμνητο
ἀλύκταζόν τε οἷα ἐν ὀλίγῳ χώρῳ πεφοβημένοι τε καὶ
πολλαὶ μυριάδες κατειλημέναι ἀνθρώπων. παρῆν τε
τοῖσι Ἕλλησι φονεύειν οὕτω ὥστε τριήκοντα μυριάδων

IX. στρατοῦ, καταδεουσέων τεσσέρων τὰς ἔχων Ἀρτάβαζος ἔφευγε, τῶν λοιπέων μηδὲ τρεῖς χιλιάδας περιγενέσθαι. Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ τῶν ἐκ Σπάρτης ἀπέθανον οἱ πάντες ἐν τῇ συμβολῇ εἷς καὶ ἐνενήκοντα, Τεγεητέων δὲ ἑκκαίδεκα, Ἀθηναίων δὲ δύο καὶ πεντήκοντα.

cc. 71–75. *Names of those who were distinguished in the battle. Aristodemus of Sparta not allowed to take the first place, which is awarded to Posidonius. Callicrates. Sophanes of Decelea (legend of Decelea).*

71 Ἡρίστευσε δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων πεζὸς μὲν ὁ Περσέων, ἵππος δὲ ἡ Σακέων, ἀνὴρ δὲ λέγεται Μαρδόνιος· Ἑλλήνων δέ, ἀγαθῶν γενομένων καὶ Τεγεητέων καὶ Ἀθηναίων, ὑπερεβάλοντο ἀρετῇ Λακεδαιμόνιοι. ἄλλῳ μὲν οὐδενὶ ἔχω ἀποσημήνασθαι (ἅπαντες γὰρ οὗτοι τοὺς κατ' ἑωυτοὺς ἐνίκων), ὅτι δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρότατον προσηνείχθησαν καὶ τούτων ἐκράτησαν. καὶ ἄριστος ἐγένετο μακρῷ Ἀριστόδημος κατὰ γνώμας τὰς ἡμετέρας, ὃς ἐκ Θερμοπυλέων μοῦνος τῶν τριηκοσίων σωθεὶς εἶχε ὄνειδος καὶ ἀτιμίην. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἠρίστευσαν Ποσειδώνιός τε καὶ Φιλοκύων καὶ Ἀμομφάρετος *Σπαρτιῆται. καίτοι γενομένης λέσχης ὃς γένοιτο αὐτῶν ἄριστος, ἔγνωσαν οἱ παραγενόμενοι Σπαρτιητέων Ἀριστόδημον μὲν βουλόμενον φανερῶς ἀποθανεῖν ἐκ τῆς παρεούσης οἱ αἰτίης, λυσσῶντά τε καὶ ἐκλιπόντα τὴν τάξιν ἔργα ἀποδέξασθαι μεγάλα, Ποσειδώνιον δὲ οὐ βουλόμενον ἀποθνήσκειν ἄνδρα γενέσθαι ἀγαθόν· τοσούτῳ τοῦτον εἶναι ἀμείνω. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν καὶ φθόνῳ ἂν εἴποιεν· οὗτοι δὲ τοὺς κατέλεξα πάντες, πλὴν Ἀριστοδήμου, τῶν ἀποθανόντων ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ τίμιοι ἐγένοντο, Ἀριστόδημος δὲ βουλόμενος ἀπο-
72 θανεῖν διὰ τὴν προειρημένην αἰτίην οὐκ ἐτιμήθη. οὗτοι

μὲν τῶν ἐν Πλαταιῇσι ὀνομαστότατοι ἐγένοντο. Καλλι- IX.
κράτης γὰρ ἔξω τῆς μάχης ἀπέθανε, ἐλθὼν ἀνὴρ κάλ-
λιστος ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν τότε Ἑλλήνων, οὐ μοῦνον
αὐτῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων·
ὅς, ἐπειδὴ ἐσφαγιάζετο Παυσανίης, κατήμενος ἐν τῇ
τάξι ἐτρωματίσθη τοξεύματι τὰ πλευρά. καὶ δὴ οἱ
μὲν ἐμάχοντο, ὁ δ' ἐξενηνειγμένος ἐδυσθανάτεέ τε καὶ
ἔλεγε πρὸς Ἀρίμνηστον ἄνδρα Πλαταιέα οὐ μέλειν οἱ
ὅτι πρὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀποθνήσκει, ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐκ ἐχρή-
σατο τῇ χειρὶ καὶ ὅτι οὐδέν ἐστί οἱ ἀποδεδεγμένον ἔργον
ἑωυτοῦ ἄξιον προθυμευμένου ἀποδέξασθαι. Ἀθηναίων 73
δὲ λέγεται εὐδοκιμῆσαι Σωφάνης ὁ Εὐτυχίδεω, *ἐὼν
δήμου Δεκελεῆθεν, Δεκελέων δὲ τῶν κοτε ἐργασαμένων
ἔργον χρήσιμον ἐς τὸν πάντα χρόνον, ὡς αὐτοὶ Ἀθη-
ναῖοι λέγουσι. ὡς γὰρ δὴ τὸ πάλαι κατὰ Ἑλένης κομι-
δὴν Τυνδαρίδαι ἐσέβαλον ἐς γῆν τὴν Ἀττικὴν σὺν
στρατοῦ πλήθεϊ καὶ ἀνίστασαν τοὺς δήμους, οὐκ εἰδότες
ἵνα ὑπεξέκειτο ἡ Ἑλένη, τότε λέγουσι τοὺς Δεκελέας,
οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν Δέκελον ἀχθόμενόν τε τῇ Θησέος ὕβρι
καὶ δειμαίνοντα περὶ πάσῃ τῇ Ἀθηναίων χώρῃ, ἐξηγη-
σάμενόν σφι τὸ πᾶν πρῆγμα κατηγήσασθαι ἐπὶ τὰς
Ἀφίδνας, τὰς δὴ Τιτακός, ἐὼν αὐτόχθων, καταπροδιδοῖ
Τυνδαρίδῃσι. τοῖσι δὲ Δεκελεῦσι ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἀπὸ τού-
του τοῦ ἔργου ἀτελείη τε καὶ προεδρίη διατελέει ἐς
τόδε αἰεὶ ἔτι ἐοῦσα, οὕτω ὥστε καὶ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον
τὸν ὕστερον πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι τούτων γενόμενον Ἀθη-
ναίοισί τε καὶ Πελοποννησίοισι, σινομένων τὴν ἄλλην
Ἀττικὴν Λακεδαιμονίων, Δεκελέης ἀποσχέσθαι. τούτου 74
τοῦ δήμου ἐὼν ὁ Σωφάνης καὶ ἀριστεύσας τότε Ἀθη-
ναίων διξοὺς λόγους λεγομένους ἔχει, τὸν μὲν ὡς ἐκ
τοῦ ζωστῆρος τοῦ θώρηκος ἐφόρεε χαλκέῃ ἀλύσι δεδε-

IX. μένην ἄγκυραν σιδηρέην, τὴν ὅκως πελάσειε ἀπικνεό-
6 μενος τοῖσι πολεμίοισι βαλλέσκετο, ἵνα δή μιν οἱ πολέ-
μιοι ἐκπίπτοντες ἐκ τῆς τάξιος μετακινῆσαι μὴ δυναίατο·
γινομένης δὲ φυγῆς τῶν ἐναντίων ἐδέδοκτο τὴν ἄγκυραν
ἀναλαβόντα οὕτω διώκειν. οὗτος μὲν οὕτω λέγεται, ὁ
10 δ' ἕτερος τῶν λόγων τῷ πρότερον λεχθέντι ἀμφισβα-
τέων λέγεται, ὡς ἐπ' ἀσπίδος αἰεὶ περιθεούσης καὶ
οὐδαμὰ ἀτρεμιζούσης ἐφόρεε ἐπίσημον ἄγκυραν, καὶ
75 οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ θώρηκος δεδεμένην σιδηρέην. ἔστι δὲ καὶ
ἕτερον Σωφάνεϊ λαμπρὸν ἔργον ἐξεργασμένον, ὅτε περι-
κατημένων Ἀθηναίων Αἴγιναν Εὐρυβάτην τὸν Ἀργεῖον,
ἄνδρα πεντάεθλον, ἐκ προκλήσιος ἐφόνευσε. αὐτὸν δὲ
5 Σωφάνεα χρόνῳ ὕστερον τούτων κατέλαβε ἄνδρα γενό-
μενον ἀγαθόν, Ἀθηναίων στρατηγέοντα ἅμα Λεάγρῳ
τῷ Γλαύκωνος, ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ Ἠδωνῶν ἐν Δάτῳ περὶ
τῶν μετάλλων τῶν χρυσέων μαχόμενον.

c. 76. *Pausanias and the Coan concubine of Pharandates.*

76 Ὡς δὲ τοῖσι Ἕλλησι ἐν Πλαταιῇσι κατέστρωντο οἱ
βάρβαροι, ἐνθαῦτά σφι ἐπῆλθε γυνὴ αὐτόμολος· ἣ ἐπειδὴ
ἔμαθε ἀπολωλότας τοὺς Πέρσας καὶ νικῶντας τοὺς
Ἕλληνας, ἐοῦσα παλλακὴ Φαρανδάτεος τοῦ Τεάσπιος
5 ἀνδρὸς Πέρσεω, κοσμησαμένη χρυσῷ πολλῷ καὶ αὐτὴ καὶ
ἀμφίπολοι καὶ ἐσθῆτι τῇ καλλίστῃ τῶν παρεουσέων,
καταβᾶσα ἐκ τῆς ἁρμαμάξης ἐχώρεε ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαι-
μονίους ἔτι ἐν τῇσι φονῇσι ἐόντας, ὁρῶσα δὲ πάντα
ἐκεῖνα διέποντα Παυσανίην, πρότερόν τε τὸ οὔνομα
10 ἐξεπισταμένη καὶ τὴν πάτρην ὥστε πολλάκις ἀκούσασα,
ἔγνω τε τὸν Παυσανίην καὶ λαβομένη τῶν γουνάτων
ἔλεγε τάδε· Ὦ βασιλεῦ Σπάρτης, ῥῦσαί με τὴν ἱκέτιν
αἰχμαλώτου δουλοσύνης. σὺ γὰρ καὶ ἐς τόδε ὤνησας

τούσδε ἀπολέσας τοὺς οὔτε δαιμόνων οὔτε θεῶν ὅπιν IX.
ἔχοντας. εἰμὶ δὲ γένος μὲν Κῴη, θυγάτηρ δὲ Ἡγητορί-
δεω τοῦ Ἀνταγόρεω. βίῃ δέ με λαβὼν ἐν Κῷ εἶχε ὁ
Πέρσης. ὁ δὲ ἀμείβεται τοισίδε· Γύναι, θάρσεε καὶ ὡς
ἱκέτις καὶ εἰ δὴ πρὸς τούτῳ τυγχάνεις ἀληθέα λέγουσα
καὶ εἰς θυγάτηρ Ἡγητορίδεω τοῦ Κῴου, ὃς ἐμοὶ ξεῖνος
μάλιστα τυγχάνει ἐὼν τῶν περὶ ἐκείνους τοὺς χώρους
οἰκημένων. ταῦτα εἶπας τότε μὲν ἐπέτρεψε τῶν ἐφόρων
τοῖσι παρεοῦσι, ὕστερον δὲ ἀπέπεμψε ἐς Αἴγιναν, ἐς τὴν
αὐτὴ ἤθελε ἀπικέσθαι.

c. 77. *Arrival of the Mantineans and Eleans; in their anger at being too late, they banish their captains.*

Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἄπιξιν τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα 77
ἀπίκοντο Μαντινέες ἐπ' ἐξεργασμένοισι· μαθόντες δὲ ὅτι
ὕστεροι ἥκουσι τῆς συμβολῆς, συμφορὴν ἐποιεῦντο μεγά-
λην ἄξιοί τε ἔφασαν εἶναι σφέας ζημιῶσαι. πυνθανόμενοι
δὲ τοὺς Μήδους τοὺς μετὰ Ἀρταβάζου φεύγοντας, τούτους
ἐδίωκον μέχρι Θεσσαλίης· Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ οὐκ ἔων
φεύγοντας διώκειν. οἱ δὲ ἀναχωρήσαντες ἐς τὴν ἑωυτῶν
τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῆς στρατιῆς ἐδίωξαν ἐκ τῆς γῆς. μετὰ
δὲ Μαντινέας ἦκον Ἠλεῖοι, καὶ ὡσαύτως οἱ Ἠλεῖοι
τοῖσι Μαντινεῦσι συμφορὴν ποιησάμενοι ἀπαλλάσσοντο·
ἀπελθόντες δὲ καὶ οὗτοι τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἐδίωξαν. τὰ
κατὰ Μαντινέας μὲν καὶ Ἠλείους τοσαῦτα.

cc. 78, 79. *Lampon of Aegina suggests to Pausanias that he should crucify the body of Mardonius, in revenge for the treatment of Leonidas by Xerxes. He receives a severe rebuke from Pausanias for suggesting that a Greek should act as a barbarian.*

Ἐν δὲ Πλαταιῇσι ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῶν Αἰγινητέων 78

IX. ἦν Λάμπων ὁ Πυθέω, Αἰγινητέων *ἐὼν τὰ πρῶτα· ὃς ἀνοσιώτατον ἔχων λόγον ἵετο πρὸς Παυσανίην, ἀπικόμενος δὲ σπουδῇ ἔλεγε τάδε· Ὦ παῖ Κλεομβρότου, ἔργον ἔργασταί τοι ὑπερφυὲς μέγαθός τε καὶ κάλλος, καί τοι θεὸς παρέδωκε ῥυσάμενον τὴν Ἑλλάδα κλέος καταθέσθαι μέγιστον Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν. σὺ δὲ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοισι ποίησον, ὅκως λόγος τέ σε ἔχῃ ἔτι μέζων καί τις ὕστερον φυλάσσηται τῶν βαρβάρων μὴ ὑπάρχειν ἔργα ἀτάσθαλα ποιέων ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας. Λεωνίδεω γὰρ ἀποθανόντος ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι Μαρδόνιός τε καὶ Ξέρξης ἀποταμόντες τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀνεσταύρωσαν· τῷ σὺ τὴν ὁμοίην ἀποδιδοὺς ἔπαινον ἕξεις πρῶτα μὲν ὑπὸ πάντων Σπαρτιητέων, αὖτις δὲ καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων· Μαρδόνιον γὰρ ἀνασκολοπίσας *τετιμωρήσεαι ἐς πάτρων τὸν σὸν Λεωνίδην. ὁ μὲν δοκέων χαρίζεσθαι ἔλεγε τάδε,
79 ὁ δ' ἀνταμείβετο τοισίδε· Ὦ ξεῖνε Αἰγινῆτα, τὸ μὲν εὐνοέειν τε καὶ προορᾶν ἄγαμαί σευ, γνώμης μέντοι ἡμάρτηκας χρηστῆς· ἐξαείρας γάρ με ὑψοῦ καὶ τὴν πάτρην καὶ τὸ ἔργον, ἐς τὸ μηδὲν κατέβαλες παραινέων νεκρῷ λυμαίνεσθαι, καὶ ἦν ταῦτα ποιέω, φὰς ἄμεινόν με ἀκούσεσθαι. τὰ πρέπει μᾶλλον βαρβάροισι ποιέειν ἢ περ Ἕλλησι· καὶ ἐκείνοισι δὲ ἐπιφθονέομεν. ἐγὼ δ' ὧν τούτου εἵνεκα μήτε Αἰγινήτῃσι ἄδοιμι μήτε τοῖσι ταῦτα ἀρέσκεται, ἀποχρᾷ δέ μοι Σπαρτιήτῃσι ἀρεσκόμενον ὅσια μὲν ποιέειν, ὅσια δὲ καὶ λέγειν. Λεωνίδῃ δέ, τῷ με κελεύεις τιμωρῆσαι, φημὶ μεγάλως τετιμωρῆσθαι, ψυχῇσί τε τῇσι τῶνδε ἀναριθμήτοισι τετίμηται αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι τελευτήσαντες. σὺ μέντοι ἔτι ἔχων λόγον τοιόνδε μήτε προσέλθῃς ἔμοιγε μήτε συμβουλεύσῃς, χάριν τε ἴσθι ἐὼν ἀπαθής.

cc. 80–82. *Account of the spoil found in the Persian camp, and of the offerings made from it. Luxury of the Persians illustrated.* IX.

Ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἀκούσας ἀπαλλάσσετο· Παυσανίης 80
δὲ κήρυγμα ποιησάμενος μηδένα ἅπτεσθαι τῆς λείης,
συγκομίζειν ἐκέλευε τοὺς εἵλωτας τὰ χρήματα. οἱ δὲ
ἀνὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον σκιδνάμενοι εὗρισκον σκηνὰς κατ-
εσκευασμένας χρυσῷ καὶ ἀργύρῳ, κλίνας τε ἐπιχρύσους 5
καὶ ἐπαργύρους, κρητῆράς τε χρυσέους καὶ φιάλας τε
καὶ ἄλλα ἐκπώματα· σάκκους τε ἐπ' ἁμαξέων εὕρισκον,
ἐν τοῖσι λέβητες ἐφαίνοντο ἐνεόντες χρύσεοί τε καὶ
ἀργύρεοι· ἀπό τε τῶν κειμένων νεκρῶν ἐσκύλευον ψέλιά
τε καὶ στρεπτοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἀκινάκας, ἐόντας χρυσέους, 10
ἐπεὶ ἐσθῆτός γε ποικίλης λόγος ἐγίνετο οὐδὲ εἷς.
ἐνθαῦτα πολλὰ μὲν κλέπτοντες ἐπώλεον πρὸς τοὺς
Αἰγινήτας οἱ εἵλωτες, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἀπεδείκνυσαν, ὅσα
αὐτῶν οὐκ οἷά τε ἦν κρύψαι· ὥστε Αἰγινήτῃσι οἱ με-
γάλοι πλοῦτοι ἀρχὴν ἐνθεῦτεν ἐγένοντο, οἳ τὸν χρυσὸν 15
ἅτε ἐόντα χαλκὸν δῆθεν παρὰ τῶν εἰλώτων ὠνέοντο.
συμφορήσαντες δὲ τὰ χρήματα καὶ δεκάτην ἐξελόντες 81
τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖσι θεῷ, ἀπ' ἧς ὁ τρίπους ὁ χρύσεος
ἀνετέθη ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ τρικαρήνου ὄφιος τοῦ χαλκέου
ἐπεστεὼς ἄγχιστα τοῦ βωμοῦ, καὶ τῷ ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ θεῷ
ἐξελόντες, ἀπ' ἧς δεκάπηχυν χάλκεον Δία ἀνέθηκαν, καὶ 5
τῷ ἐν Ἰσθμῷ θεῷ, ἀπ' ἧς ἑπτάπηχυς χάλκεος Ποσειδέων
ἐξεγένετο, ταῦτα ἐξελόντες τὰ λοιπὰ διαιρέοντο καὶ
ἔλαβον ἕκαστοι τῶν ἄξιοι ἦσαν, καὶ τὰς παλλακὰς
τῶν Περσέων καὶ τὸν χρυσὸν καὶ τὸν ἄργυρον καὶ
ἄλλα χρήματά τε καὶ ὑποζύγια. ὅσα μέν νυν ἐξαίρετα 10
τοῖσι ἀριστεύσασι αὐτῶν ἐν Πλαταιῇσι ἐδόθη, οὐ λέγεται
πρὸς οὐδαμῶν, δοκέω δ' ἔγωγε καὶ τούτοισι δοθῆναι·
Παυσανίῃ δὲ πάντα δέκα ἐξαιρέθη τε καὶ ἐδόθη, γυναῖκες,

IX. ἵπποι, τάλαντα, κάμηλοι, ὡς δὲ αὕτως καὶ τὰ ἄλλα
82 χρήματα. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τάδε γενέσθαι, ὡς Ξέρξης φεύγων ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος Μαρδονίῳ τὴν κατασκευὴν καταλίποι τὴν ἑωυτοῦ· Παυσανίην ὦν ὁρῶντα τὴν Μαρδονίου κατασκευὴν χρυσῷ τε καὶ ἀργύρῳ καὶ παρα-
5 πετάσμασι ποικίλοισι κατεσκευασμένην κελεῦσαι τούς τε ἀρτοκόπους καὶ τοὺς ὀψοποιοὺς κατὰ ταὐτὰ †καθὼς Μαρδονίῳ δεῖπνον παρασκευάζειν. ὡς δὲ κελευόμενοι οὗτοι ἐποίευν ταῦτα, ἐνθαῦτα τὸν Παυσανίην ἰδόντα κλίνας τε χρυσέας καὶ ἀργυρέας εὖ ἐστρωμένας καὶ
10 τραπέζας τε χρυσέας καὶ ἀργυρέας καὶ παρασκευὴν μεγαλοπρεπέα τοῦ δείπνου, ἐκπλαγέντα τὰ προκείμενα ἀγαθὰ κελεῦσαι ἐπὶ γέλωτι τοὺς ἑωυτοῦ διηκόνους παρασκευάσαι Λακωνικὸν δεῖπνον. ὡς δὲ τῆς θοίνης ποιηθείσης ἦν πολλὸν τὸ μέσον, τὸν Παυσανίην γελά-
15 σαντα μεταπέμψασθαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοὺς στρατηγούς, συνελθόντων δὲ τούτων εἰπεῖν τὸν Παυσανίην, δεικνύντα ἐς ἑκατέρην τοῦ δείπνου τὴν παρασκευήν· Ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, τῶνδε εἵνεκα ἐγὼ ὑμέας συνήγαγον, βουλόμενος ὑμῖν τοῦ Μήδων ἡγεμόνος τὴν ἀφροσύνην δέξαι, ὃς τοιήνδε
20 δίαιταν ἔχων ἦλθε ἐς ἡμέας οὕτω ὀϊζυρὴν ἔχοντας ἀπαιρησόμενος.

cc. 83–85. *Burial of the Dead.*

83 Ταῦτα μὲν Παυσανίην λέγεται εἰπεῖν πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων. ὑστέρῳ μέντοι χρόνῳ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τῶν Πλαταιέων εὗρον συχνοὶ θήκας χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων χρημάτων.
5 Ἐφάνη δὲ καὶ τόδε ὕστερον *ἔτι τούτων. τῶν νεκρῶν περιψιλωθέντων τὰς σάρκας (συνεφόρεον γὰρ τὰ ὀστέα οἱ Πλαταιέες ἐς ἕνα χῶρον) εὑρέθη κεφαλὴ οὐκ ἔχουσα ῥαφὴν οὐδεμίαν ἀλλ' ἐξ ἑνὸς ἐοῦσα ὀστέου· ἐφάνη δὲ

καὶ γνάθος, καὶ τὸ ἄνω τῆς γνάθου, ἔχουσα ὀδόντας IX.
μουνοφυέας, ἐξ ἑνὸς ὀστέου πάντας, τούς τε ὀδόντας 10
καὶ τοὺς γομφίους· καὶ πενταπήχεος ἀνδρὸς ὀστέα
ἐφάνη. †ἐπείτε δὲ Μαρδονίου δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ ὁ νεκρὸς 84
ἠφάνιστο, ὑπ' ὅτευ μὲν ἀνθρώπων, τὸ ἀτρεκὲς οὐκ ἔχω
εἰπεῖν, πολλοὺς δέ τινας ἤδη καὶ παντοδαποὺς ἤκουσα
θάψαι Μαρδόνιον, καὶ δῶρα μεγάλα οἶδα λαβόντας
πολλοὺς παρὰ Ἀρτόντεω τοῦ Μαρδονίου παιδὸς διὰ 5
τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον· ὅστις μέντοι ἦν αὐτῶν ὁ ὑπελόμενός
τε καὶ θάψας τὸν νεκρὸν τὸν Μαρδονίου, οὐ δύναμαι
ἀτρεκέως πυθέσθαι. ἔχει δέ τινα φάτιν καὶ Διονυσο-
φάνης ἀνὴρ Ἐφέσιος θάψαι Μαρδόνιον. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν 85
τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ ἐτάφη· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ὡς ἐν Πλαταιῇσι
τὴν λήϊην διείλοντο, ἔθαπτον τοὺς ἑωυτῶν χωρὶς ἕκα-
στοι. Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν τριξὰς ἐποιήσαντο θήκας·
ἔνθα μὲν τοὺς *Ἱρένας ἔθαψαν, τῶν καὶ Ποσειδώνιος 5
καὶ Ἀμομφάρετος ἦσαν καὶ Φιλοκύων τε καὶ Καλλι-
κράτης. ἐν μὲν δὴ ἑνὶ τῶν τάφων ἦσαν οἱ *Ἱρένες, ἐν
δὲ τῷ ἑτέρῳ οἱ ἄλλοι Σπαρτιῆται, ἐν δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ οἱ
εἵλωτες. οὗτοι μὲν οὕτω ἔθαπτον, Τεγεῆται δὲ χωρὶς
πάντας ἀλέας, καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς ἑωυτῶν ὁμοῦ, καὶ 10
Μεγαρέες τε καὶ Φλιάσιοι τοὺς ὑπὸ τῆς ἵππου δια-
φθαρέντας. τούτων μὲν δὴ πάντων πλήρεες ἐγένοντο
οἱ τάφοι· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ὅσοι καὶ φαίνονται ἐν Πλα-
ταιῇσι ἐόντες τάφοι, τούτους δέ, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι,
ἐπαισχυνομένους τῇ ἀπεστοῖ τῆς μάχης ἑκάστους χώ- 15
ματα χῶσαι κεινὰ τῶν ἐπιγινομένων εἵνεκεν ἀνθρώ-
πων, ἐπεὶ καὶ Αἰγινητέων ἐστὶ αὐτόθι καλεόμενος
τάφος, τὸν ἐγὼ ἀκούω καὶ δέκα ἔτεσι ὕστερον μετὰ
ταῦτα δεηθέντων Αἰγινητέων χῶσαι Κλεάδην τὸν Αὐτο-
δίκου ἄνδρα Πλαταιέα, πρόξεινον ἐόντα αἰτῶν. 20

IX. cc. 86–88. *The Greeks determine to take vengeance on the Thebans for their Medizing. The leaders are given up, except Attaginus, who escapes. Pausanias takes them to Corinth, and there executes them.*

86 Ὡς δ' ἄρα ἔθαψαν τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐν Πλαταιῇσι οἱ
Ἕλληνες, αὐτίκα βουλευομένοισί σφι ἐδόκεε στρα-
τεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὰς Θήβας καὶ ἐξαιτέειν αὐτῶν τοὺς μη-
δίσαντας, ἐν πρώτοισι δὲ αὐτῶν Τιμηγενίδην καὶ Ἀττα-
γῖνον, οἳ ἀρχηγέται ἀνὰ πρώτους ἦσαν· ἢν δὲ μὴ
ἐκδιδῶσι, μὴ ἀπανίστασθαι ἀπὸ τῆς πόλιος πρότερον
ἢ ἐξέλωσι. ὡς δέ σφι ταῦτα ἔδοξε, οὕτω δὴ ἑνδεκάτῃ
ἡμέρῃ ἀπὸ τῆς συμβολῆς ἀπικόμενοι ἐπολιόρκεον Θη-
βαίους, κελεύοντες ἐκδιδόναι τοὺς ἄνδρας· οὐ βουλο-
μένων δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων ἐκδιδόναι τήν τε γῆν αὐτῶν
87 ἔταμνον καὶ προσέβαλλον πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος. καὶ οὐ γὰρ
ἐπαύοντο σινόμενοι, εἰκοστῇ ἡμέρῃ ἔλεξε τοῖσι Θη-
βαίοισι Τιμηγενίδης τάδε· Ἄνδρες Θηβαῖοι, ἐπειδὴ
οὕτω δέδοκται τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, μὴ πρότερον ἀπαναστῆναι
πολιορκέοντας ἢ ἐξέλωσι Θήβας ἢ ἡμέας αὐτοῖσι παρα-
δῶτε, νῦν ὦν ἡμέων εἵνεκα γῆ ἡ Βοιωτίη πλέω μὴ
ἀναπλήσῃ, ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν χρημάτων χρηίζοντες πρόσχημα
ἡμέας ἐξαιτέονται, χρήματά σφι δῶμεν ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ
(σὺν γὰρ τῷ κοινῷ καὶ ἐμηδίσαμεν οὐδὲ μοῦνοι ἡμεῖς), εἰ
δὲ ἡμέων ἀληθέως δεόμενοι πολιορκέουσι, ἡμεῖς ἡμέας
αὐτοὺς ἐς ἀντιλογίην παρέξομεν. κάρτα τε ἔδοξε εὖ
λέγειν καὶ ἐς καιρόν, αὐτίκα τε ἐπεκηρυκεύοντο πρὸς
Παυσανίην οἱ Θηβαῖοι θέλοντες ἐκδιδόναι τοὺς ἄνδρας.
88 ὡς δὲ ὡμολόγησαν ἐπὶ τούτοισι, Ἀτταγῖνος μὲν ἐκδιδρή-
σκει ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος, παῖδας δὲ αὐτοῦ ἀπαχθέντας Παυσα-
νίης ἀπέλυσε τῆς αἰτίης, φὰς τοῦ μηδισμοῦ παῖδας
οὐδὲν εἶναι μεταιτίους. τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἄνδρας τοὺς
ἐξέδοσαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι, οἱ μὲν ἐδόκεον ἀντιλογίης τε

κυρήσειν καὶ δὴ χρήμασι ἐπεποίθεσαν διωθέεσθαι· ὁ δὲ IX.
ὡς παρέλαβε, αὐτὰ ταῦτα ὑπονοέων τὴν στρατιὴν τὴν
τῶν συμμάχων ἅπασαν ἀπῆκε καὶ ἐκείνους ἀγαγὼν ἐς
Κόρινθον διέφθειρε.

c. 89. *Artabazus retires through Thessaly to Byzantium. He deceives the Thessalians by a false account of Mardonius.*

Ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἐν Πλαταιῇσι καὶ Θήβῃσι γενόμενα· 89
Ἀρτάβαζος δὲ ὁ Φαρνάκεος φεύγων ἐκ Πλαταιέων καὶ
δὴ πρόσω ἐγίνετο. ἀπικόμενον δέ μιν οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ
παρὰ σφέας ἐπί τε ξείνια ἐκάλεον καὶ ἀνειρώτων περὶ
τῆς στρατιῆς τῆς ἄλλης, οὐδὲν ἐπιστάμενοι τῶν ἐν
Πλαταιῇσι γενομένων. ὁ δὲ Ἀρτάβαζος γνοὺς ὅτι, εἰ
ἐθέλει σφι πᾶσαν τὴν ἀληθείην τῶν ἀγώνων εἰπεῖν,
αὐτός τε κινδυνεύσει ἀπολέσθαι καὶ ὁ μετ' αὐτοῦ στρατός
(ἐπιθήσεσθαι γάρ οἱ πάντα τινὰ οἴετο πυνθανόμενον τὰ
γεγονότα), ταῦτα ἐκλογιζόμενος οὔτε πρὸς τοὺς Φωκέας
ἐξηγόρευε οὐδὲν πρός τε τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς ἔλεγε τάδε·
Ἐγὼ μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες Θεσσαλοί, ὡς ὁρᾶτε, ἐπείγομαί τε
κατὰ τάχος ἐλῶν ἐς Θρηίκην καὶ σπουδὴν ἔχω, πεμφθεὶς
κατά τι πρῆγμα ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου μετὰ τῶνδε· αὐτὸς
δὲ ὑμῖν Μαρδόνιος καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ οὗτος κατὰ πόδας
ἐμεῦ ἐλαύνων προσδόκιμός ἐστι. τοῦτον καὶ ξεινίζετε
καὶ εὖ ποιεῦντες φαίνεσθε· οὐ γὰρ ὑμῖν ἐς χρόνον ταῦτα
ποιεῦσι μεταμελήσει. ταῦτα δὲ εἴπας ἀπήλαυνε σπουδῇ
τὴν στρατιὴν διὰ Θεσσαλίης τε καὶ Μακεδονίης ἰθὺ τῆς
Θρηίκης, ὡς ἀληθέως ἐπειγόμενος καὶ τὴν μεσόγαιαν
τάμνων τῆς ὁδοῦ. καὶ ἀπικνέεται ἐς Βυζάντιον, κατα-
λιπὼν τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ ἑωυτοῦ συχνοὺς ὑπὸ Θρηίκων
τε κατακοπέντας κατ' ὁδὸν καὶ λιμῷ συστάντας καὶ
καμάτῳ· ἐκ Βυζαντίου δὲ διέβη πλοίοισι.

IX. cc. 90 ff. *The* **Battle of Mycale. cc. 90–91.** *The Samians send envoys to Leotychidas at Delos, urging him to attack the Persian fleet. Moved by a favourable omen, Leotychidas consents.*

90 Οὗτος μὲν οὕτω ἀπενόστησε ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην· τῆς δὲ αὐτῆς ἡμέρης τῆς περ ἐν Πλαταιῇσι τὸ τρῶμα ἐγένετο, συνεκύρησε γενέσθαι καὶ ἐν Μυκάλῃ τῆς Ἰωνίης. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐν τῇ Δήλῳ κατέατο οἱ Ἕλληνες οἱ ἐν τῇσι νησοὶ ἅμα Λευτυχίδῃ τῷ Λακεδαιμονίῳ ἀπικόμενοι, ἦλθόν σφι ἄγγελοι ἀπὸ Σάμου Λάμπων τε Θρασυκλέος καὶ Ἀθηναγόρης Ἀρχεστρατίδεω καὶ Ἡγησίστρατος Ἀριστα-γόρεω, πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ Σαμίων λάθρῃ τῶν τε Περσέων καὶ τοῦ τυράννου Θεομήστορος τοῦ Ἀνδροδάμαντος, τὸν κατέστησαν Σάμου τύραννον οἱ Πέρσαι. ἐπελθόντων δέ σφεων ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἔλεγε Ἡγησίστρατος πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖα, ὡς ἦν μοῦνον ἴδωνται αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἴωνες ἀποστήσονται ἀπὸ Περσέων, καὶ ὡς οἱ βάρβαροι οὐκ ὑπομενέουσι· ἢν δὲ καὶ ἄρα ὑπομείνωσι, οὐκ ἐτέρην ἄγρην τοιαύτην εὑρεῖν ἂν αὐτούς· θεούς τε κοινοὺς ἀνακαλέων προέτραπε αὐτοὺς ῥύσασθαι ἄνδρας Ἕλληνας ἐκ δουλοσύνης καὶ ἀπαμῦναι τὸν βάρβαρον. εὐπετές τε αὐτοῖσι ἔφη ταῦτα γίνεσθαι· τάς τε γὰρ νέας αὐτῶν κακῶς πλέειν καὶ οὐκ ἀξιομάχους κείνοισι εἶναι. αὐτοί τε, εἴ τι ὑποπτεύουσι μὴ δόλῳ αὐτοὺς προάγοιεν, ἕτοιμοι εἶναι ἐν τῇσι νησὶ τῇσι ἐκείνων ἀγόμενοι ὅμηροι εἶναι.

91 ὡς δὲ πολλὸς ἦν λισσόμενος ὁ ξεῖνος ὁ Σάμιος, εἴρετο Λευτυχίδης, εἴτε κληδόνος εἵνεκεν θέλων πυθέσθαι εἴτε καὶ κατὰ συντυχίην θεοῦ ποιεῦντος· Ὦ ξεῖνε Σάμιε, τί τοι τὸ οὔνομα; ὁ δὲ εἶπε· Ἡγησίστρατος. ὁ δὲ ὑπαρπάσας τὸν ἐπίλοιπον λόγον, εἴ τινα ὄρμητο λέγειν ὁ Ἡγησίστρατος, εἶπε· Δέκομαι τὸν οἰωνὸν τὸν Ἡγησιστράτου, ὦ ξεῖνε Σάμιε. σὺ δὲ ἡμῖν ποίεε ὅκως αὐτός

τε δοὺς πίστιν ἀποπλεύσεαι καὶ οἱ σὺν σοὶ ἐόντες οἵδε, IX.
ἢ μὲν Σαμίους ἡμῖν προθύμους ἔσεσθαι συμμάχους.

cc. 92–95. *The Greeks set sail. Account of Evenius of Apollonia, the father of Deiphonus the seer of the Greeks.*

Ταῦτά τε ἅμα ἠγόρευε καὶ τὸ ἔργον προσῆγε· 92
αὐτίκα γὰρ οἱ Σάμιοι πίστιν τε καὶ ὅρκια ἐποιεῦντο
συμμαχίης πέρι πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας. ταῦτα δὲ
ποιήσαντες οἱ μὲν ἀπέπλεον· μετὰ σφέων γὰρ ἐκέλευε
πλέειν τὸν Ἡγησίστρατον, οἰωνὸν τὸ οὔνομα ποιεύ- 5
μενος· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἐπισχόντες ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην 93
τῇ ὑστεραίῃ ἐκαλλιερέοντο, μαντευομένου σφι Δηιφόνου
τοῦ Εὐηνίου ἀνδρὸς Ἀπολλωνιήτεω, Ἀπολλωνίης δὲ τῆς
ἐν Ἰονίῳ κόλπῳ, τοῦ τὸν πατέρα κατέλαβε Εὐήνιον
πρῆγμα τοιόνδε· ἔστι ἐν τῇ Ἀπολλωνίῃ ταύτῃ ἱρὰ ἡλίου 5
πρόβατα, τὰ τὰς μὲν ἡμέρας βόσκεται παρὰ ποταμόν,
ὃς ἐκ Λάκμονος ὄρεος ῥέει διὰ τῆς Ἀπολλωνίης χώρης
ἐς θάλασσαν παρ' Ὦρικον λιμένα, τὰς δὲ νύκτας ἀραι-
ρημένοι ἄνδρες οἱ πλούτῳ τε καὶ γένεϊ δοκιμώτατοι τῶν
ἀστῶν, οὗτοι φυλάσσουσι ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκαστος· περὶ πολλοῦ 10
γὰρ δὴ ποιεῦνται Ἀπολλωνιῆται τὰ πρόβατα ταῦτα ἐκ
θεοπροπίου τινός· ἐν δὲ ἄντρῳ αὐλίζονται ἀπὸ τῆς
πόλιος ἑκάς. ἔνθα δὴ τότε ὁ Εὐήνιος οὗτος ἀραιρημένος
ἐφύλασσε. καί κοτε αὐτοῦ κατακοιμήσαντος τὴν φυλακὴν
παρελθόντες λύκοι ἐς τὸ ἄντρον διέφθειραν τῶν προβάτων 15
ὡς ἑξήκοντα. ὁ δὲ ὡς ἐπήισε, εἶχε σιγῇ καὶ ἔφραζε
οὐδενί, ἐν νόῳ ἔχων ἀντικαταστήσειν ἄλλα πριάμενος.
καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἔλαθε τοὺς Ἀπολλωνιήτας ταῦτα γενόμενα,
ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπύθοντο, ὑπαγαγόντες μιν ὑπὸ δικαστήριον
κατέκριναν, ὡς τὴν φυλακὴν κατακοιμήσαντα, τῆς ὄψιος 20
στερηθῆναι. ἐπείτε δὲ τὸν Εὐήνιον ἐξετύφλωσαν, αὐτίκα

IX. μετὰ ταῦτα οὔτε πρόβατά σφι ἔτικτε οὔτε γῆ ἔφερε ὁμοίως καρπόν. πρόφαντα δέ σφι ἔν τε Δωδώνῃ καὶ ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἐγίνετο· † ἔπειτα ἐπειρώτων τοὺς προφήτας τὸ αἴτιον τοῦ παρεόντος κακοῦ, οἱ δὲ αὐτοῖσι ἔφραζον † ὅτι ἀδίκως τὸν φύλακον τῶν ἱρῶν προβάτων Εὐήνιον τῆς ὄψιος ἐστέρησαν· αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἐπορμῆσαι τοὺς λύκους, οὐ πρότερόν τε παύσεσθαι τιμωρέοντες ἐκείνῳ πρὶν ἢ δίκας δῶσι τῶν ἐποίησαν ταύτας τὰς ἂν αὐτὸς ἕληται καὶ δικαιοῖ· τούτων δὲ τελεομένων αὐτοὶ δώσειν Εὐηνίῳ δόσιν τοιαύτην τὴν πολλούς μιν μακαριεῖν ἀνθρώπων
94 ἔχοντα. τὰ μὲν χρηστήρια ταῦτά σφι ἐχρήσθη, οἱ δὲ Ἀπολλωνιῆται ἀπόρρητα ποιησάμενοι προέθεσαν τῶν ἀστῶν ἀνδράσι διαπρῆξαι. οἱ δέ σφι διέπρηξαν ὧδε· κατημένου Εὐηνίου ἐν θώκῳ ἐλθόντες οἱ παρίζοντο καὶ λόγους ἄλλους ἐποιεῦντο, ἐς ὃ κατέβαινον συλλυπεύμενοι τῷ πάθεϊ. ταύτῃ δὲ ὑπάγοντες εἰρώτων τίνα δίκην ἂν ἕλοιτο, εἰ ἐθέλοιεν Ἀπολλωνιῆται δίκας ὑποστῆναι δώσειν τῶν ἐποίησαν. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἀκηκοὼς τὸ θεοπρόπιον εἵλετο εἶπας εἴ τίς οἱ δοίη ἀγρούς, τῶν ἀστῶν ὀνομάσας τοῖσι ἠπίστατο εἶναι καλλίστους δύο κλήρους τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀπολλωνίῃ, καὶ οἴκησιν πρὸς τούτοισι τὴν ἤδεε καλλίστην ἐοῦσαν τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλι· τούτων δὲ ἔφη ἐπήβολος γενόμενος τοῦ λοιποῦ ἀμήνιτος εἶναι, καὶ δίκην οἱ ταύτην ἀποχρᾶν γενομένην. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγε, οἱ δὲ πάρεδροι εἶπαν ὑπολαβόντες· Εὐήνιε, ταύτην δίκην Ἀπολλωνιῆται τῆς ἐκτυφλώσιος ἐκτίνουσί τοι κατὰ θεοπρόπια τὰ γενόμενα. ὁ μὲν δὴ πρὸς ταῦτα δεινὰ ἐποιέετο, ἐνθεῦτεν πυθόμενος τὸν πάντα λόγον, ὡς ἐξαπατηθείς· οἱ δὲ πριάμενοι παρὰ τῶν ἐκτημένων διδοῦσί οἱ τὰ εἵλετο. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτίκα ἔμφυτον
95 μαντικὴν εἶχε, ὥστε καὶ ὀνομαστὸς γενέσθαι. τούτου

δὴ ὁ Δηίφονος ἐὼν παῖς τοῦ Εὐηνίου ἀγόντων Κορινθίων IX.
ἐμαντεύετο τῇ στρατιῇ. ἤδη δὲ καὶ τόδε ἤκουσα ὡς ὁ
Δηίφονος ἐπιβατεύων τοῦ Εὐηνίου οὐνόματος ἐξελάμβανε
ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἔργα, οὐκ ἐὼν Εὐηνίου παῖς.

cc. 96, 97. *The Greeks advance to Calamisa in Samos. The Persians dismiss the Phoenicians, and retire with the rest of the fleet to Mycale, for the protection of the army. At Gaeson and Scolopoeis they entrench themselves behind a palisade.*

Τοῖσι δὲ Ἕλλησι ὡς ἐκαλλιέρησε, ἀνῆγον τὰς νέας 96
ἐκ τῆς Δήλου πρὸς τὴν Σάμον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένοντο τῆς
Σαμίης πρὸς Καλαμίσοισι, οἱ μὲν αὐτοῦ ὁρμισάμενοι
κατὰ τὸ Ἥραιον τὸ ταύτῃ παρεσκευάζοντο ἐς ναυμα-
χίην, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι πυθόμενοί σφεας προσπλέειν ἀνῆγον
καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὸς τὴν ἤπειρον τὰς νέας τὰς ἄλλας, τὰς
δὲ Φοινίκων ἀπῆκαν ἀποπλέειν. βουλευομένοισι γάρ
σφι ἐδόκεε ναυμαχίην μὴ ποιέεσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ὦν ἐδό-
κεον ὁμοῖοι εἶναι· ἐς δὲ τὴν ἤπειρον ἀπέπλεον, ὅκως
ἔωσι ὑπὸ τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν τὸν σφέτερον ἐόντα ἐν
τῇ Μυκάλῃ, ὃς κελεύσαντος Ξέρξεω καταλελειμμένος
τοῦ ἄλλου στρατοῦ Ἰωνίην ἐφύλασσε· τοῦ πλῆθος μὲν
ἦν ἐξ μυριάδες, ἐστρατήγεε δὲ αὐτοῦ Τιγράνης, κάλλεί τε
καὶ μεγάθεϊ ὑπερφέρων Περσέων. ὑπὸ τοῦτον μὲν δὴ
τὸν στρατὸν ἐβουλεύσαντο καταφυγόντες οἱ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ
στρατηγοὶ ἀνειρύσαι τὰς νέας καὶ περιβαλέσθαι ἔρκος
ἔρυμα τῶν νεῶν καὶ σφέων αὐτῶν κρησφύγετον. ταῦτα 97
βουλευσάμενοι ἀνήγοντο. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ παρὰ τὸ τῶν
Ποτνιέων ἱρὸν τῆς Μυκάλης ἐς Γαίσωνά τε καὶ Σκολο-
πόεντα, τῇ Δήμητρος Ἐλευσινίης ἱρόν, τὸ Φίλιστος
ὁ Πασικλέος ἱδρύσατο Νείλεῳ τῷ Κόδρου ἐπισπόμενος
ἐπὶ Μιλήτου κτιστύν, ἐνθαῦτα τάς τε νέας ἀνείρυσαν καὶ
περιεβάλοντο ἔρκος καὶ λίθων καὶ ξύλων, δένδρεα ἐκκό-

IX. ψαντες ἦμερα, καὶ σκόλοπας περὶ τὸ ἕρκος κατέπηξαν. καὶ παρεσκευάδατο ὡς πολιορκησόμενοι καὶ ὡς νικήσοντες· ἐπ' ἀμφότερα γὰρ ἐπιλεγόμενοι παρεσκευάζοντο.

c. 98. *The Greeks determine to pursue them. Leotychidas sails along the shore at Mycale, and urges the Ionians to join them.*

98 Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ὡς ἐπύθοντο οἰχωκότας τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐς τὴν ἤπειρον, ἤχθοντο ὡς ἐκπεφευγότων ἐν ἀπορίῃ τε εἴχοντο ὅ τι ποιέωσι, εἴτε ἀπαλλάσσωνται ὀπίσω εἴτε καταπλέωσι ἐπ' Ἑλλησπόντου. τέλος δὲ ἔδοξε τούτων μὲν μηδέτερα ποιέειν, ἐπιπλέειν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἤπειρον. παρασκευασάμενοι ὦν ἐς ναυμαχίην καὶ ἀποβάθρας καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσων ἔδεε ἔπλεον ἐπὶ τῆς Μυκάλης. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀγχοῦ τε ἐγίνοντο τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐφαίνετό σφι ἐπαναγόμενος, ἀλλ' ὥρων νέας ἀνελκυσμένας ἔσω τοῦ τείχεος, πολλὸν δὲ πεζὸν παρακεκριμένον παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλόν, ἐνθαῦτα πρῶτον μὲν ἐν τῇ νηὶ παραπλέων, ἐγχρίμψας τῷ αἰγιαλῷ τὰ μάλιστα, Λευτυχίδης ὑπὸ κήρυκος προηγόρευε τοῖσι Ἴωσι λέγων. Ἄνδρες Ἴωνες, ὅσοι ὑμέων τυγχάνουσι ἐπακούοντες, μάθετε τὰ λέγω· πάντως γὰρ οὐδὲν συνήσουσι Πέρσαι τῶν ἐγὼ ὑμῖν ἐντέλλομαι. ἐπεὰν συμμίσγωμεν, μεμνῆσθαί τινα χρὴ ἐλευθερίης μὲν πάντων πρῶτον, μετὰ δὲ τοῦ συνθήματος Ἥβης. καὶ τάδε ἴστω καὶ ὁ μὴ * ἐπακούσας ὑμέων πρὸς τοῦ ἐπακούσαντος. ὑντὸς δὲ † οὗτος ἐὼν τυγχάνει νόος τοῦ πρήγματος καὶ ὁ Θεμιστοκλέος ὁ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ· ἢ γὰρ δὴ λαθόντα τὰ ῥήματα τοὺς βαρβάρους ἔμελλε τοὺς Ἴωνας πείσειν, ἢ ἔπειτα ἀνενειχθέντα ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους ποιήσειν ἀπίστους τοῖσι Ἕλλησι.

c. 99. *The Persians, seeing the Greeks about to land, prepare to resist. They disarm the Samians, and send the Milesians to guard the passes of Mycale.* IX.

Λευτυχίδεω δὲ ταῦτα ὑποθεμένου δεύτερα δὴ τάδε 99
ἐποίευν οἱ Ἕλληνες· προσσχόντες τὰς νέας ἀπέβησαν
ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλόν. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἐτάσσοντο, οἱ δὲ
Πέρσαι ὡς εἶδον τοὺς Ἕλληνας παρασκευαζομένους
ἐς μάχην καὶ τοῖσι Ἴωσι παραινέσαντας, τοῦτο μὲν 5
ὑπονοήσαντες τοὺς Σαμίους τὰ Ἑλλήνων φρονέειν
ἀπαιρέονται τὰ ὅπλα. οἱ γὰρ ὧν Σάμιοι ἀπικομένων
Ἀθηναίων αἰχμαλώτων ἐν τῇσι νηυσὶ τῶν βαρβάρων,
τοὺς ἔλαβον ἀνὰ τὴν Ἀττικὴν λελειμμένους οἱ Ξέρξεω,
τούτους λυσάμενοι πάντας ἀποπέμπουσι ἐποδιάσαντες 10
ἐς Ἀθήνας· τῶν εἵνεκεν οὐκ ἥκιστα ὑποψίην εἶχον,
πεντακοσίας κεφαλὰς τῶν Ξέρξεω πολεμίων λυσάμενοι.
τοῦτο δὲ τὰς διόδους τὰς ἐς τὰς κορυφὰς τῆς Μυκάλης
φερούσας προστάσσουσι τοῖσι Μιλησίοισι φυλάσσειν
ὡς ἐπισταμένοισι δῆθεν μάλιστα τὴν χώρην· ἐποίευν 15
δὲ τούτου εἵνεκεν, ἵνα ἐκτὸς τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἔωσι.
τούτους μὲν Ἰώνων, τοῖσι καὶ κατεδόκεον νεοχμὸν ἄν
τι ποιέειν δυνάμιος ἐπιλαβομένοισι, τρόποισι τοιούτοισι
προεφυλάσσοντο οἱ Πέρσαι, αὐτοὶ δὲ συνεφόρησαν τὰ
γέρρα ἔρκος εἶναι σφίσι. 20

cc. 100, 101. *As the Greeks are about to attack, a mysterious report is brought that Mardonius is vanquished. Remarkable coincidences at Mycale and Plataea.*

Ὡς δὲ ἄρα * παρεσκεύαστο τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, προσήισαν 100
πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους. ἰοῦσι δέ σφι φήμη τε ἐσέπτατο
ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον πᾶν καὶ κηρυκήιον ἐφάνη ἐπὶ τῆς
κυματωγῆς κείμενον· ἡ δὲ φήμη διῆλθέ σφι ὧδε, ὡς
οἱ Ἕλληνες τὴν Μαρδονίου στρατιὴν νικῷεν ἐν Βοιωτοῖσι 5

IX. μαχόμενοι. δῆλα δὴ πολλοῖσι τεκμηρίοισί ἐστι τὰ θεῖα τῶν πρηγμάτων, εἰ καὶ τότε τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρης συμπιπτούσης τοῦ τε ἐν Πλαταιῇσι καὶ τοῦ ἐν Μυκάλῃ μέλλοντος ἔσεσθαι τρώματος φήμη τοῖσι Ἕλλησι τοῖσι ταύτῃ ἐσαπίκετο, ὥστε θαρσῆσαί τε τὴν στρατιὴν πολλῷ μᾶλλον καὶ ἐθέλειν προθυμότερον κινδυνεύειν. καὶ τόδε ἕτερον συνέπεσε γενόμενον, Δήμητρος τεμένεα Ἐλευσινίης παρὰ ἀμφοτέρας τὰς συμβολὰς εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐν τῇ Πλαταιίδι παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ Δημήτριον ἐγίνετο, ὡς καὶ πρότερόν μοι εἴρηται, ἡ μάχη, καὶ ἐν Μυκάλῃ ἔμελλε ὡσαύτως ἔσεσθαι. γεγονέναι δὲ νίκην τῶν μετὰ Παυσανίεω Ἑλλήνων ὀρθῶς σφι ἡ φήμη συνέβαινε ἐλθοῦσα· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐν Πλαταιῇσι πρωὶ ἔτι τῆς ἡμέρης ἐγίνετο, τὸ δὲ ἐν Μυκάλῃ περὶ δείλην. ὅτι δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρης συνέβαινε γίνεσθαι μηνός τε τοῦ αὐτοῦ, χρόνῳ οὐ πολλῷ σφι ὕστερον δῆλα ἀναμανθάνουσι ἐγίνετο. ἦν δὲ ἀρρωδίη σφι πρὶν τὴν φήμην ἐσαπικέσθαι, οὕτι περὶ σφέων αὐτῶν οὕτω ὡς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, μὴ περὶ Μαρδονίῳ πταίσῃ ἡ Ἑλλάς. ὡς μέντοι ἡ κληδὼν αὕτη σφι ἐσέπτατο, μᾶλλόν τι καὶ ταχύτερον τὴν πρόσοδον ἐποιεῦντο. οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἕλληνες καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι ἔσπευδον ἐς τὴν μάχην, ὥς σφι καὶ αἱ νῆσοι καὶ ὁ Ἑλλήσποντος ἄεθλα προέκειτο.

c. 102. *The Athenians, Corinthians, etc., rush on the Persians before the Lacedaemonians have time to come up. They carry their outer defences, and their fortified position. Great slaughter of the Persians.*

102 Τοῖσι μέν νυν Ἀθηναίοισι καὶ τοῖσι προσεχέσι τούτοισι τεταγμένοισι μέχρι κου τῶν ἡμισέων ἡ ὁδὸς ἐγίνετο κατ' αἰγιαλόν τε καὶ ἄπεδον χῶρον, τοῖσι δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοισι καὶ τοῖσι ἐπεξῆς τούτοισι τεταγμένοισι

κατά τε χαράδραν καὶ ὄρεα. ἐν ᾧ δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι IX.
περιήισαν, οὗτοι οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ ἑτέρῳ κέρεϊ †ἔτι καὶ δὴ 6
ἐμάχοντο. ἕως μέν νυν τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι ὄρθια ἦν τὰ
γέρρα, ἠμύνοντό τε καὶ οὐδὲν ἔλασσον εἶχον τῇ μάχῃ·
ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν προσεχέων ὁ στρατός,
ὅκως ἑωυτῶν γένηται τὸ ἔργον καὶ μὴ Λακεδαιμονίων, 10
παρακελευσάμενοι ἔργου εἴχοντο προθυμότερον, ἐν-
θεῦτεν ἤδη ἑτεροιοῦτο τὸ πρῆγμα. διωσάμενοι γὰρ
τὰ γέρρα οὗτο φερόμενοι ἐσέπεσον ἀλέες ἐς τοὺς
Πέρσας, οἱ δὲ δεξάμενοι καὶ χρόνον συχνὸν ἀμυνό-
μενοι τέλος ἔφευγον ἐς τὸ τεῖχος. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ 15
Κορίνθιοι καὶ Σικυώνιοι καὶ Τροιζήνιοι (οὕτω γὰρ
ἦσαν ἐπεξῆς τεταγμένοι) συνεπισπόμενοι συνεσέπιπτον
ἐς τὸ τεῖχος. ὡς δὲ καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀραίρητο, οὔτ' ἔτι
πρὸς ἀλκὴν ἐτράποντο οἱ βάρβαροι πρὸς φυγήν τε
ὁρμέατο οἱ ἄλλοι πλὴν Περσέων. οὗτοι δὲ κατ' ὀλί- 20
γους γινόμενοι ἐμάχοντο τοῖσι αἰεὶ ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἐσ-
πίπτουσι Ἑλλήνων. καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν Περσικῶν
δύο μὲν ἀποφεύγουσι, δύο δὲ τελευτῶσι· Ἀρταΰντης
μὲν καὶ Ἰθαμίτρης, τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατηγέοντες, ἀπο-
φεύγουσι, Μαρδόντης δὲ καὶ ὁ τοῦ πεζοῦ στρατηγὸς 25
Τιγράνης μαχόμενοι τελευτῶσι.

cc. 103–105. *The Lacedaemonians finish the contest. The Samians also, though unarmed, do their best, and the Milesians join in the slaughter. The Athenians most distinguished in the engagement.*

Ἔτι δὲ μαχομένων τῶν Περσέων ἀπίκοντο Λακεδαι- 103
μόνιοι καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ συνδιεχείριζον.
ἔπεσον δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν Ἑλλήνων συχνοὶ ἐνθαῦτα, ἄλλοι
τε καὶ Σικυώνιοι καὶ στρατηγὸς Περίλεως. τῶν δὲ Σαμίων
οἱ στρατευόμενοι, ἐόντες τε ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῷ Μηδικῷ 5

IX. καὶ ἀπαραιρημένοι τὰ ὅπλα, ὡς εἶδον αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχὰς γινομένην ἐτεραλκέα τὴν μάχην, ἔρδον ὅσον ἐδυνέατο, προσωφελέειν ἐθέλοντες τοῖσι Ἕλλησι. Σαμίους δὲ ἰδόντες οἱ ἄλλοι Ἴωνες ἄρξαντας, οὕτω δὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀποστάντες ἀπὸ Περσέων ἐπέθεντο τοῖσι
104 βαρβάροισι. Μιλησίοισι δὲ προσετέτακτο μὲν *ἐκ τῶν Περσέων τὰς διόδους τηρέειν σωτηρίης εἵνεκά σφι, ὡς ἦν ἄρα σφέας καταλαμβάνῃ οἷά περ κατέλαβε, ἔχοντες ἡγεμόνας σώζωνται ἐς τὰς κορυφὰς τῆς Μυκάλης. ἐτάχθησαν μέν νυν ἐπὶ τοῦτο τὸ πρῆγμα οἱ Μιλήσιοι τούτου τε εἵνεκεν καὶ ἵνα μὴ παρεόντες ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τι νεοχμὸν ποιέοιεν· οἱ δὲ πᾶν τὸ ἐναντίον τοῦ προστεταγμένου ἐποίεον, ἄλλας τε κατηγεόμενοί σφι ὁδοὺς φεύγουσι, αἳ δὴ ἔφερον ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ τέλος αὐτοί σφι ἐγίνοντο κτείνοντες πολεμιώτατοι. οὕτω δὴ τὸ δεύτερον Ἰωνίη ἀπὸ Περσέων ἀπέστη.

105 Ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ Ἑλλήνων ἠρίστευσαν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Ἀθηναίων Ἑρμόλυκος ὁ Εὐθοίνου, ἀνὴρ παγκράτιον ἐπασκήσας. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν Ἑρμόλυκον κατέλαβε ὕστερον τούτων, πολέμου ἐόντος Ἀθηναίοισί τε καὶ Καρυστίοισι, ἐν Κύρνῳ τῆς Καρυστίης χώρης ἀποθανόντα ἐν μάχῃ κεῖσθαι ἐπὶ Γεραιστῷ. μετὰ δὲ Ἀθηναίους Κορίνθιοι καὶ Τροιζήνιοι καὶ Σικυώνιοι ἠρίστευσαν.

c. 106. *The Greeks, after burning the Persian ships, return to Samos, and discuss the question of Ionia. It is resolved to rescue Ionia. The fleet proceeds to the bridges.*

106 Ἐπείτε δὲ κατεργάσαντο οἱ Ἕλληνες τοὺς πολλούς, τοὺς μὲν μαχομένους, τοὺς δὲ καὶ φεύγοντας τῶν βαρβάρων, τὰς νέας ἐνέπρησαν καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἅπαν, τὴν ληίην προεξαγαγόντες ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλόν, καὶ θησαυρούς τινας χρημάτων εὗρον· ἐμπρήσαντες δὲ τὸ τεῖχος καὶ

τὰς νέας ἀπέπλεον. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς Σάμον αἱ Ἕλ- IX.
ληνες ἐβουλεύοντο περὶ ἀναστάσιος τῆς Ἰωνίης, καὶ
ὅκῃ χρεὸν εἴη τῆς Ἑλλάδος κατοικίσαι τῆς αὐτοὶ ἐγκρα-
τέες ἦσαν, τὴν δὲ Ἰωνίην ἀπεῖναι τοῖσι βαρβάροισι·
ἀδύνατον γὰρ ἐφαίνετό σφι εἶναι ἑωυτούς τε Ἰώνων προ-
κατῆσθαι φρουρέοντας τὸν πάντα χρόνον, καὶ ἑωυτῶν
μὴ προκατημένων Ἴωνας οὐδεμίαν ἐλπίδα εἶχον χαί-
ροντας πρὸς τῶν Περσέων ἀπαλλάξειν. πρὸς ταῦτα
Πελοποννησίων μὲν τοῖσι ἐν τέλεϊ ἐοῦσι ἐδόκεε τῶν
μηδισάντων ἐθνέων τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν τὰ ἐμπόρια ἐξανα-
στήσαντας δοῦναι τὴν χώρην Ἴωσι ἐνοικῆσαι, Ἀθη-
ναίοισι δὲ οὐκ ἐδόκεε ἀρχὴν Ἰωνίην γενέσθαι ἀνά-
στατον οὐδὲ * Πελοποννησίους περὶ τῶν σφετέρων ἀπ-
οικιέων βουλεύειν· ἀντιτεινόντων δὲ τούτων προθύμως
εἶξαν οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι. καὶ οὕτω δὴ Σαμίους τε καὶ
Χίους καὶ Λεσβίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους νησιώτας, οἳ
ἔτυχον συστρατευόμενοι τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, ἐς τὸ συμμα-
χικὸν ἐποιήσαντο, πίστι τε καταλαβόντες καὶ ὁρκίοισι
ἐμμενέειν τε καὶ μὴ ἀποστήσεσθαι. τούτους δὲ κατα-
λαβόντες ὁρκίοισι ἔπλεον τὰς γεφύρας λύσοντες· ἔτι
γὰρ ἐδόκεον ἐντεταμένας εὑρήσειν.

c. 107. *Return of the fugitive Persians to Sardis. Quarrel between Masistes and Artayntes.*

Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ἐπ' Ἑλλησπόντου ἔπλεον· τῶν δὲ ἀποφυ- 107
γόντων βαρβάρων ἐς τὰ ἄκρα τε τῆς Μυκάλης κατειλη-
θέντων, ἐόντων οὐ πολλῶν, ἐγίνετο κομιδὴ ἐς Σάρδις. πο-
ρευομένων δὲ κατ' ὁδὸν Μασίστης ὁ Δαρείου παρατυχὼν τῷ
πάθεϊ τῷ γεγονότι τὸν στρατηγὸν Ἀρταΰντην ἔλεγε πολλά
τε καὶ κακά, ἄλλα τε καὶ γυναικὸς κακίω φὰς αὐτὸν εἶναι
τοιαῦτα στρατηγήσαντα, καὶ ἄξιον εἶναι παντὸς κακοῦ

IX. τὸν βασιλέος οἶκον κακώσαντα. παρὰ δὲ τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι γυναικὸς κακίω ἀκοῦσαι δέννος μέγιστός ἐστι. ὁ δὲ ἐπεὶ πολλὰ ἤκουσε, δεινὰ ποιεύμενος σπᾶται ἐπὶ τὸν Μασίστην τὸν ἀκινάκην, ἀποκτεῖναι θέλων. καί μιν ἐπιθέοντα φρασθεὶς Ξειναγόρης ὁ Πρηξίλεω ἀνὴρ Ἁλικαρνησσεύς, ὄπισθε ἑστεὼς αὐτοῦ Ἀρταΰντεω, ἁρπάζει μέσον καὶ ἐξαείρας παίει ἐς τὴν γῆν· καὶ ἐν τούτῳ οἱ δορυφόροι οἱ Μασίστεω προέστησαν. ὁ δὲ Ξειναγόρης ταῦτα ἐργάσατο χάριτα αὐτῷ τε Μασίστῃ τιθέμενος καὶ Ξέρξῃ, ἐκσώζων τὸν ἀδελφεὸν τὸν ἐκείνου· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον Ξειναγόρης Κιλικίης πάσης ἦρξε δόντος βασιλέος. τῶν δὲ κατ' ὁδὸν πορευομένων οὐδὲν ἔτι πλέον τούτων ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' ἀπικνέονται ἐς Σάρδις.

cc. 108–113. *Xerxes and the daughter of Masistes. Terrible revenge of Amestris on the wife of Masistes, and death of Masistes.*

108 Ἐν δὲ τῇσι Σάρδισι ἐτύγχανε ἐὼν βασιλεὺς ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου, ἐπείτε ἐξ Ἀθηνέων προσπταίσας τῇ ναυμαχίῃ φυγὼν ἀπίκετο. τότε δὴ ἐν τῇσι Σάρδισι ἐὼν ἄρα ἤρα τῆς Μασίστεω γυναικός, ἐούσης καὶ ταύτης ἐνθαῦτα. ὡς δέ οἱ προσπέμποντι οὐκ ἐδύνατο κατεργασθῆναι, οὐδὲ βίην προσέφερε προμηθεόμενος τὸν ἀδελφεὸν Μασίστην (τὠυτὸ δὲ τοῦτο εἶχε καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα· εὖ γὰρ ἐπίστατο βίης οὐ τευξομένη), ἐνθαῦτα δὴ Ξέρξης ἐργόμενος τῶν ἄλλων πρήσσει τὸν γάμον τοῦτον τῷ παιδὶ τῷ ἑωυτοῦ Δαρείῳ, θυγατέρα τῆς γυναικὸς ταύτης καὶ Μασίστεω, δοκέων αὐτὴν μᾶλλον λάμψεσθαι ἢν ταῦτα ποιήσῃ. ἁρμόσας δὲ καὶ τὰ νομιζόμενα ποιήσας ἀπήλαυνε ἐς Σοῦσα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖ τε ἀπίκετο καὶ ἠγάγετο ἐς ἑωυτοῦ Δαρείῳ τὴν γυναῖκα, οὕτω δὴ

τῆς Μασίστεω μὲν γυναικὸς ἐπέπαυτο, ὁ δὲ διαμειψά- IX.
μενος ἦρά τε καὶ ἐτύγχανε τῆς Δαρείου μὲν γυναικός, 16
Μασίστεω δὲ θυγατρός· οὔνομα δὲ τῇ γυναικὶ ταύτῃ
ἦν Ἀρταΰντη. χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος ἀνάπυστα γίνεται 109
τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· ἐξυφήνασα Ἀμηστρις ἡ Ξέρξεω γυνὴ
φᾶρος μέγα τε καὶ ποικίλον καὶ θέης ἄξιον διδοῖ Ξέρξῃ.
ὁ δὲ ἡσθεὶς περιβάλλεταί τε καὶ ἔρχεται παρὰ τὴν Ἀρ-
ταΰντην. ἡσθεὶς δὲ καὶ ταύτῃ ἐκέλευσε αὐτὴν αἰτῆσαι 5
ὅ τι βούλεταί οἱ γενέσθαι ἀντὶ τῶν αὐτῷ ὑπουργη-
μένων· πάντα γὰρ τεύξεσθαι αἰτήσασαν. τῇ δὲ κακῶς
γὰρ ἔδεε πανοικίῃ γενέσθαι, πρὸς ταῦτα εἶπε Ξέρξῃ·
Δώσεις μοι τὸ ἄν σε αἰτήσω; ὁ δὲ πᾶν μᾶλλον δο-
κέων κείνην αἰτῆσαι ὑπισχνέετο καὶ ὤμοσε. ἡ δὲ ὡς 10
ὤμοσε ἀδεῶς αἰτέει τὸ φᾶρος. Ξέρξης δὲ παντοῖος
ἐγίνετο οὐ βουλόμενος δοῦναι, κατ' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν,
φοβεόμενος δὲ Ἀμηστριν, μὴ καὶ πρὶν κατεικαζούσῃ
τὰ γινόμενα οὕτω ἐπευρεθῇ πρήσσων· ἀλλὰ πόλις τε
ἐδίδου καὶ χρυσὸν ἄπλετον καὶ στρατόν, τοῦ ἔμελλε 15
οὐδεὶς ἄρξειν ἀλλ' ἢ ἐκείνη· Περσικὸν δὲ κάρτα ὁ
στρατὸς δῶρον. ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἔπειθε, διδοῖ τὸ φᾶρος.
ἡ δὲ περιχαρὴς ἐοῦσα τῷ δώρῳ ἐφόρεέ τε καὶ ἀγάλ-
λετο. καὶ ἡ Ἀμηστρις πυνθάνεταί μιν ἔχουσαν· μα- 110
θοῦσα δὲ τὸ ποιεύμενον τῇ μὲν γυναικὶ ταύτῃ οὐκ
εἶχε ἔγκοτον, ἡ δὲ ἐλπίζουσα τὴν μητέρα αὐτῆς εἶναι
αἰτίην καὶ ταῦτα ἐκείνην πρήσσειν, τῇ Μασίστεω γυ-
ναικὶ ἐβούλευε ὄλεθρον. φυλάξασα δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν 5
ἑωυτῆς Ξέρξην βασιλήιον δεῖπνον προτιθέμενον (τοῦτο
δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον παρασκευάζεται ἅπαξ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, ἐν
ἡμέρῃ τῇ ἐγένετο βασιλεύς· οὔνομα δὲ τῷ δείπνῳ τούτῳ
Περσιστὶ μὲν τυκτά, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν
τέλεον· τότε καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν σμᾶται μοῦνον βασιλεὺς 10

IX. καὶ Πέρσας δωρέεται), ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἡμέρην φυλάξασα
ἡ Ἀμηστρις χρηίζει τοῦ Ξέρξεω δοθῆναί οἱ τὴν Μα-
σίστεω γυναῖκα. ὁ δὲ δεινόν τε καὶ ἀνάρσιον ἐποιέετο
τοῦτο μὲν ἀδελφεοῦ γυναῖκα παραδοῦναι, τοῦτο δὲ
ἀναιτίην ἐοῦσαν τοῦ πρήγματος τούτου· συνῆκε γὰρ
111 τοῦ εἵνεκεν ἐδέετο. τέλος μέντοι ἐκείνης τε λιπα-
ρεούσης καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου ἐξεργόμενος, ὅτι ἀτυχῆσαι
τὸν χρηίζοντα οὗ σφι δυνατόν ἐστι βασιληίου δείπνου
προκειμένου, κάρτα δὴ ἀέκων κατανεύει καὶ παραδοὺς
ποιέει ὧδε· τὴν μὲν κελεύει ποιέειν τὰ βούλεται, ὁ δὲ
μεταπεμψάμενος τὸν ἀδελφεὸν λέγει τάδε· Μασίστα,
σὺ εἶς Δαρείου τε παῖς καὶ ἐμὸς ἀδελφεός, πρὸς δ' ἔτι
τούτοισι καὶ εἶς ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός· γυναικὶ δὴ ταύτῃ
τῇ νῦν συνοικέεις μὴ συνοίκεε, ἀλλά τοι ἀντ' αὐτῆς
ἐγὼ δίδωμι θυγατέρα τὴν ἐμήν. ταύτῃ συνοίκεε· τὴν
δὲ νῦν ἔχεις, οὐ γὰρ δοκέει ἐμοί, μὴ ἔχε γυναῖκα. ὁ
δὲ Μασίστης ἀποθωμάσας τὰ λεγόμενα λέγει τάδε· Ὦ
δέσποτα, τίνα μοι λόγον λέγεις ἄχρηστον, κελεύων με
γυναῖκα, ἐκ τῆς μοι παῖδές τε νεηνίαι εἰσὶ καὶ θυγα-
τέρες, τῶν καὶ σὺ μίαν τῷ παιδὶ τῷ σεωυτοῦ ἠγάγεο
γυναῖκα, αὐτή τέ μοι κατὰ νόον τυγχάνει κάρτα ἐοῦσα,
ταύτην με κελεύεις μετέντα θυγατέρα τὴν σὴν γῆμαι;
ἐγὼ δέ, βασιλεῦ, μεγάλα μὲν ποιεῦμαι ἀξιεύμενος
θυγατρὸς τῆς σῆς, ποιήσω μέντοι τούτων οὐδέτερα.
σὺ δὲ μηδαμῶς βιῶ πρήγματος τοιοῦδε δεόμενος· ἀλλὰ
τῇ τε σῇ θυγατρὶ ἀνὴρ ἄλλος φανήσεται ἐμεῦ οὐδὲν
ἧσσων, ἐμέ τε ἔα γυναικὶ τῇ ἐμῇ συνοικέειν. ὁ μὲν
δὴ τοιούτοισι ἀμείβεται, Ξέρξης δὲ θυμωθεὶς λέγει
τάδε· Οὕτω τοι, Μασίστα, πέπρηκται· οὔτε γὰρ ἄν τοι
δοίην θυγατέρα τὴν ἐμὴν γῆμαι, οὔτε ἐκείνῃ πλεῦνα
χρόνον συνοικήσεις, ὡς μάθῃς τὰ διδόμενα δέκεσθαι.

ὁ δὲ ὡς ταῦτα ἤκουσε, εἶπας τοσόνδε ἐχώρεε ἔξω· Δέ- IX.
σποτα, οὐ δή κού με ἀπώλεσας; ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ διὰ 112
μέσου χρόνῳ, ἐν τῷ Ξέρξης τῷ ἀδελφεῷ διελέγετο, ἡ
Ἀμηστρις μεταπεμψαμένη τοὺς δορυφόρους τοῦ Ξέρξεω
διαλυμαίνεται τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν Μασίστεω· τούς τε μα-
ζοὺς ἀποταμοῦσα κυσὶ προέβαλε καὶ ῥῖνα καὶ ὦτα καὶ
χείλεα καὶ γλῶσσαν ἐκταμοῦσα ἐς οἶκόν μιν ἀποπέμπει
διαλελυμασμένην. ὁ δὲ Μασίστης οὐδέν κω ἀκηκοὼς 113
τούτων, ἐλπόμενος δέ τί οἱ κακὸν εἶναι, ἐσπίπτει δρόμῳ
ἐς τὰ οἰκία. ἰδὼν δὲ διεφθαρμένην τὴν γυναῖκα, αὐτίκα
μετὰ ταῦτα συμβουλευσάμενος τοῖσι παισὶ ἐπορεύετο
ἐς Βάκτρα σύν τε τοῖσι ἑωυτοῦ υἱοῖσι καὶ δή κού
τισι καὶ ἄλλοισι ὡς ἀποστήσων νομὸν τὸν Βάκτριον
καὶ ποιήσων τὰ μέγιστα κακῶν βασιλέα. τά περ ἂν
καὶ ἐγένετο, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, εἴ περ ἔφθη ἀναβὰς ἐς
τοὺς Βακτρίους καὶ τοὺς Σάκας· καὶ γὰρ ἔστεργόν τέ
μιν καὶ ἦν ὕπαρχος τῶν Βακτρίων. ἀλλὰ γὰρ Ξέρξης
πυθόμενος ταῦτα ἐκεῖνον πρήσσοντα πέμψας ἐπ' αὐτὸν
στρατιὴν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ κατέκτεινε αὐτόν τε ἐκεῖνον καὶ
τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν στρατιὴν τὴν ἐκείνου.

cc. 114–121. *The fleet finds the bridges broken. The Athenians left behind under Xanthippus to finish the war. Siege of Sestos. Crucifixion of Artayctes for his conduct at the temple of Protesilaus.*

Κατὰ μὲν τὸν ἔρωτα τὸν Ξέρξεω καὶ τὸν Μασί- 114
στεω θάνατον τοσαῦτα ἐγένετο· οἱ δὲ ἐκ Μυκάλης
ὁρμηθέντες Ἕλληνες ἐπ' Ἑλλησπόντου πρῶτον μὲν
περὶ Λεκτὸν ὅρμεον, ὑπὸ ἀνέμων ἀπολαμφθέντες, ἐν-
θεῦτεν δὲ ἀπίκοντο ἐς Ἄβυδον καὶ τὰς γεφύρας εὗρον
διαλελυμένας, τὰς ἐδόκεον εὑρήσειν ἔτι ἐντεταμένας,
καὶ τούτων οὐκ ἥκιστα εἵνεκεν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον

IX. ἀπίκοντο. τοῖσι μέν νυν ἀμφὶ Λευτυχίδην Πελοποννησίοισι ἔδοξε ἀποπλέειν ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ καὶ Ξανθίππῳ τῷ στρατηγῷ αὐτοῦ ὑπομείναντας πειρᾶσθαι τῆς Χερσονήσου. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἀπέπλεον, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀβύδου διαβαλόντες ἐς τὴν Χερσόνησον Σηστὸν ἐπολιόρκεον. ἐς δὲ τὴν Σηστὸν ταύτην, ὡς ἐόντος ἰσχυροτάτου τείχεος τῶν ταύτῃ, συνῆλθον, ὡς ἤκουσαν παρεῖναι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, ἔκ τε τῶν ἄλλων τῶν περιοικίδων, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐκ Καρδίης πόλιος Οἰόβαζος ἀνὴρ Πέρσης, ὃς τὰ ἐκ τῶν γεφυρέων ὅπλα ἐνθαῦτα ἦν κεκομικώς. εἶχον δὲ ταύτην ἐπιχώριοι Αἰολέες, συνῆσαν δὲ Πέρσαι τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων συχνὸς ὅμιλος. ἐτυράννευε δὲ τούτου τοῦ νομοῦ Ξέρξεω ὕπαρχος Ἀρταΰκτης, ἀνὴρ μὲν Πέρσης, δεινὸς δὲ καὶ ἀτάσθαλος, ὃς καὶ βασιλέα ἐλαύνοντα ἐπ' Ἀθήνας ἐξηπάτησε, τὰ Πρωτεσίλεω τοῦ Ἰφίκλου χρήματα ἐξ Ἐλαιοῦντος ὑπελόμενος. ἐν γὰρ Ἐλαιοῦντι τῆς Χερσονήσου ἐστὶ Πρωτεσίλεω τάφος τε καὶ τέμενος περὶ αὐτόν, ἔνθα ἦν χρήματα πολλὰ καὶ φιάλαι χρύσεαι καὶ ἀργύρεαι καὶ χαλκὸς καὶ ἐσθὴς καὶ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα, τὰ Ἀρταΰκτης ἐσύλησε βασιλέος δόντος. λέγων δὲ τοιάδε Ξέρξην διεβάλετο· Δέσποτα, ἔστι οἶκος ἀνδρὸς Ἕλληνος ἐνθαῦτα, ὃς ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν σὴν στρατευσάμενος δίκης κυρήσας ἀπέθανε. τούτου μοι δὸς τὸν οἶκον, ἵνα καί τις μάθῃ ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν σὴν μὴ στρατεύεσθαι. ταῦτα λέγων εὐπετέως ἔμελλε ἀναπείσειν Ξέρξην †δοῦναι ἀνδρὸς οἶκον, οὐδὲν ὑποτοπηθέντα τῶν ἐκεῖνος ἐφρόνεε. ἐπὶ γῆν δὲ τὴν βασιλέος στρατεύεσθαι Πρωτεσίλεων ἔλεγε νοέων τοιάδε· τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν νομίζουσι ἑωυτῶν εἶναι Πέρσαι καὶ τοῦ αἰεὶ βασιλεύοντος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδόθη, τὰ χρήματα ἐξ

Ἐλαιοῦντος ἐς Σηστὸν ἐξεφόρησε καὶ τὸ τέμενος ἔσπειρε IX.
καὶ ἐνέμετο, αὐτός τε ὅκως ἀπίκοιτο ἐς Ἐλαιοῦντα, ἐν 21
τῷ ἀδύτῳ γυναιξὶ ἐμίσγετο. τότε δὲ ἐπολιορκέετο ὑπὸ
Ἀθηναίων οὔτε παρεσκευασμένος ἐς πολιορκίην οὔτε
προσδεκόμενος τοὺς Ἕλληνας· ἀφυλάκτῳ δέ κως αὐτῷ
ἐπέπεσον. ἐπεὶ δὲ πολιορκεομένοισί σφι φθινόπωρον 117
ἐπεγίνετο, ἤσχαλλον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπό τε τῆς ἑωυτῶν
ἀποδημέοντες καὶ οὐ δυνάμενοι ἐξελεῖν τὸ τεῖχος,
ἐδέοντό τε τῶν στρατηγῶν ὅκως ἀπάγοιεν σφέας ὀπίσω·
οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἔφασαν πρὶν ἢ ἐξέλωσι ἢ τὸ Ἀθηναίων κοινὸν
σφέας μεταπέμψηται. οὕτω δὴ ἔστεργον τὰ παρεόντα.
οἱ δὲ ἐν τῷ τείχεϊ ἐς πᾶν ἤδη κακοῦ ἀπιγμένοι ἦσαν, 118
οὕτω ὥστε τοὺς τόνους ἕψοντες τῶν κλινέων ἐσιτέοντο.
ἐπείτε δὲ οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἔτι εἶχον, οὕτω δὴ ὑπὸ νύκτα
οἴχοντο ἀποδράντες οἵ τε Πέρσαι καὶ ὁ Ἀρταΰκτης καὶ ὁ
Οἰόβαζος, ὄπισθε τοῦ τείχεος καταβάντες, τῇ ἦν ἐρημό-
τατον τῶν πολεμίων. ὡς δὲ ἡμέρη ἐγένετο, οἱ Χερσονη-
σῖται ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων ἐσήμηναν τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι τὸ
γεγονὸς καὶ τὰς πύλας ἄνοιξαν. τῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν πλεῦνες
ἐδίωκον, οἱ δὲ τὴν πόλιν εἶχον. Οἰόβαζον μέν νυν 119
ἐκφυγόντα ἐς τὴν Θρηίκην Θρήικες Ἀψίνθιοι λαβόντες
ἔθυσαν Πλειστώρῳ ἐπιχωρίῳ θεῷ τρόπῳ τῷ σφετέρῳ,
τοὺς δὲ μετ' ἐκείνου ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ ἐφόνευσαν. οἱ δὲ
ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀρταΰκτην ὕστεροι ὁρμηθέντες φεύγειν, ὡς
κατελαμβάνοντο ὀλίγον ἐόντες ὑπὲρ Αἰγὸς Ποταμῶν,
ἀλεξόμενοι χρόνον ἐπὶ συχνὸν οἱ μὲν ἀπέθανον, οἱ δὲ
ζῶντες ἐλάμφθησαν. καὶ συνδήσαντές σφεας οἱ Ἕλ-
ληνες ἤγαγον ἐς Σηστόν, μετ' αὐτῶν δὲ καὶ Ἀρταΰκτην
δεδεμένον αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ. καί τεῳ τῶν 120
φυλασσόντων λέγεται ὑπὸ Χερσονησιτέων ταρίχους
ὀπτῶντι τέρας γενέσθαι τοιόνδε· οἱ τάριχοι ἐπὶ τῷ πυρὶ

IX. κείμενοι ἐπάλλοντό τε καὶ ἤσπαιρον ὅκως περ ἰχθύες
νεοάλωτοι. καὶ οἱ μὲν περιχυθέντες ἐθώμαζον, ὁ δὲ
Ἀρταΰκτης ὡς εἶδε τὸ τέρας, καλέσας τὸν ὀπτῶντα τοὺς
ταρίχους ἔφη· Ξεῖνε Ἀθηναῖε, μηδὲν φοβέο τὸ τέρας
τοῦτο· οὐ γὰρ σοὶ πέφηνε, ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ σημαίνει ὁ ἐν
Ἐλαιοῦντι Πρωτεσίλεως ὅτι καὶ τεθνεὼς καὶ τάριχος
ἐὼν δύναμιν πρὸς θεῶν ἔχει τὸν ἀδικέοντα τίνεσθαι.
νῦν ὦν ἄποινά *οἱ τάδε ἐθέλω ἐπιθεῖναι, ἀντὶ μὲν
χρημάτων τῶν ἔλαβον ἐκ τοῦ ἱροῦ ἑκατὸν τάλαντα
καταθεῖναι τῷ θεῷ, ἀντὶ δ' ἐμεωυτοῦ καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς
ἀποδώσω τάλαντα διηκόσια Ἀθηναίοισι περιγενόμενος.
ταῦτα ὑπισχόμενος τὸν στρατηγὸν Ξάνθιππον οὐκ ἔπειθε·
οἱ γὰρ Ἐλαιούσιοι τῷ Πρωτεσίλεῳ τιμωρέοντες ἐδέοντό
μιν καταχρησθῆναι, καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ταύτῃ ὁ
νόος ἔφερε. ἀπαγαγόντες δὲ αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν ἀκτὴν ἐς τὴν
Ξέρξης ἔζευξε τὸν πόρον, οἱ δὲ λέγουσι ἐπὶ τὸν κολωνὸν
τὸν ὑπὲρ Μαδύτου πόλιος, *πρὸς σανίδας προσπασσαλεύ-
121 σαντες ἀνεκρέμασαν, τὸν δὲ παῖδα ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσι τοῦ
Ἀρταΰκτεω κατέλευσαν. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες ἀπέπλεον
ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, τά τε ἄλλα χρήματα ἄγοντες καὶ δὴ καὶ
τὰ ὅπλα τῶν γεφυρέων ὡς ἀναθήσοντες ἐς τὰ ἱρά. καὶ
κατὰ τὸ ἔτος τοῦτο οὐδὲν ἔτι πλέον τούτων ἐγένετο.

c. 122. *Opinions of Artembares, the grandfather of Artayctes and Cyrus about the occupation of a better territory by the Persians.*

122 Τούτου δὲ τοῦ Ἀρταΰκτεω τοῦ ἀνακρεμασθέντος
προπάτωρ Ἀρτεμβάρης ἐστὶ ὁ Πέρσῃσι ἐξηγησάμενος
λόγον τὸν ἐκεῖνοι ὑπολαβόντες Κύρῳ προσήνεικαν λέ-
γοντα τάδε· Ἐπεὶ Ζεὺς Πέρσῃσι ἡγεμονίην διδοῖ, ἀνδρῶν
δὲ σοί, Κῦρε, κατελὼν Ἀστυάγεα, φέρε, γῆν γὰρ ἐκτή-
μεθα ὀλίγην καὶ ταύτην τρηχέαν, μεταναστάντες ἐκ

ταύτης ἄλλην σχῶμεν ἀμείνω. εἰσὶ δὲ πολλαὶ μὲν ἀστυ- IX.
γείτονες, πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ ἑκαστέρω, τῶν μίαν ἔχοντες
πλέοσι ἐσόμεθα θωμαστότεροι· οἰκὸς δὲ ἄρχοντας ἄνδρας
τοιαῦτα ποιέειν· κότε γὰρ δὴ καὶ παρέξει κάλλιον ἢ ὅτε
γε ἀνθρώπων τε πολλῶν ἄρχομεν πάσης τε τῆς Ἀσίης;
Κῦρος δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας καὶ οὐ θωμάσας τὸν λόγον
ἐκέλευε ποιέειν ταῦτα, οὕτω δὲ αὐτοῖσι παραίνεε κελεύων
παρασκευάζεσθαι ὡς οὐκέτι ἄρξοντας ἀλλ' ἀρξομένους·
φιλέειν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν μαλακῶν χώρων μαλακοὺς ἄνδρας
γίνεσθαι· οὐ γάρ τι τῆς αὐτῆς γῆς εἶναι καρπόν τε
θωμαστὸν φύειν καὶ ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς τὰ πολέμια. ὥστε
συγγνόντες Πέρσαι οἴχοντο ἀποστάντες, ἐσσωθέντες τῇ
γνώμῃ πρὸς Κύρου, ἄρχειν τε εἵλοντο λυπρὴν οἰκέοντες
μᾶλλον ἢ πεδιάδα σπείροντες ἄλλοισι δουλεύειν.

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HERODOTUS

BOOK IX

EDITED

WITH NOTES

BY

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IN TWO PARTS

PART II.—NOTES

Oxford

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NOTES.

BOOK IX.

Battles of Plataea (cc. 1–89) *and Mycale* (cc. 90–122).

BOTH Battles are said to have been fought on the same day (cc. 90, 101), which was some time in July 479 B.C., eleven months after Athens had been taken by Xerxes (c. 3), if we allow a month for the events which took place between the second capture of Athens and the battle of Plataea. The Hyacinthia at Amyclae were over some weeks before the battle (c. 7). For an account of the battles see Grote, *History of Greece*, c. 42, and Leake, *Northern Greece*, c. xvi. (for Plataea).

After the defeat of the Persian fleet at Salamis, Mardonius proposed that he should remain in Greece with a select land-force of 300,000 men and subdue the country (viii. 100 ff.). To this Xerxes agreed, and Mardonius, after accompanying Xerxes as far as Thessaly, remained in that country, with the Persians and Medes and other select portions of the army (Bactrians, Indians, Sacae, etc.). As it was too late to continue operations in the year 480 B.C., Mardonius went into winter quarters in Thessaly, where he had the support of the Aleuadae, with the intention of renewing the war in the spring of 479 B.C. (viii. 113).

When the Persians retired, the Athenians returned from Salamis and elsewhere to Athens. The rest of the land-forces of Greece were at the Isthmus, busy with building the wall of defence (viii. 71), till they were dispersed by the supposed eclipse or obscuration of the sun (ix. 10). Autumn, 480 B.C.

C. 1. 1. From his winter quarters in Thessaly, Mardonius sent in the Spring of 479 B.C. (1) Mys (Mouse?), a Carian, to consult the various oracles in Boeotia and Phocis, and (2) on the return of Mys, he sent Alexander the son of Amyntas, king of Macedon (see v. 19–22), to Athens in the hope that he might induce the Athenians to forego any further resistance. The Athenians replied that never,

while the sun held his course, would they come to terms with Persia (viii. 136–143).

3. **ὅκου δὲ ἑκάστοτε γίνοιτο**, i.e. whenever he reached a fresh tribe. Compare the more complete expression in viii. 115. 6 *ὅκου δὲ πορευόμενοι γινοίατο καὶ κατ' οὕστινας ἀνθρώπους.* The Malians, Dorians (of Doris), Locrians, and Boeotians (except Thespiae and Plataea) had joined Xerxes in the preceding year (viii. 66) and were now called out to join Mardonius.

4. **τοῖσι δὲ Θεσσαλίης ἡγεομένοισι.** In vii. 6. 9 the Aleuadae are called 'Kings of Thessaly,' but this is an exaggeration. It is however true that they controlled the action of Thessaly. Thorax of Larisa was now the head of the family, which from the first had strongly favoured the expedition of the Persians into Greece (*l. c.*).

8. **παρῆκε Μαρδόνιον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα.** This is again a slight exaggeration, for the tribes which dwelt round the pass of Thermopylae and commanded the entrance to 'Hellas,' were independent of Thessaly. For 'Hellas' see the note on 106. 8.

C. 2. 2. **κατελάμβανον**, 'wished to detain,' but he did not take their advice. For this inceptive use of the imperfect cf. infr. 77. 6 *ἐδίωκον μέχρι Θεσσαλίης*, 'wished to pursue,' 'were for pursuing' as far as Thessaly. So in iii. 52. 22 *τούτοισι αὐτὸν κατελάμβανε.*

4. **ἐπιτηδεότερος ἐνστρατοπεδεύεσθαι** (*present*), but in c. 7 ult. we have *ἐπιτηδεότατον ἐμμαχέσασθαι* (*aorist*). Such variations are due to the manner in which the action expressed by the verb is conceived; *encamping* is a continuous lasting action, but a *battle* is a single act. Hence the difference in the tense.

5. **ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἰζόμενον**, supply *ἐκέλευον*, the opposite of *οὐκ ἔων*. For this form of ellipse cf. infr. 48. 23 *εἰ δὲ καὶ μὴ δοκέοι ἀλλ' ἡμᾶς μούνους ἀποχρᾶν* (sc. *δοκέοι*) and Soph. O. T. 236 ff. where 'forbid' (*ἀπαυδῶ*) suggests 'command' (*κελεύω*).

7. **κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρόν**, 'by force,' so *κατ' ἰσχύν* (Aesch. P. V. 212), *κατὰ βίαν, κατ' ὀργήν*, etc. In infra c. 71. 6 *κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρότατον* means, 'opposite the strongest part of the army.'

Ἕλληνας ὁμοφρονέοντας—περιγίνεσθαι. The accusative, which is strictly speaking ungrammatical, is due to the fact that *περιγίνεσθαι* is equivalent in meaning to *νικᾶν*, which is always followed by an accusative. For similar constructions see 27 ult. *ὑπερεβάλοντο τοὺς Τεγεήτας*, 82. 11 *ἐκπλαγέντα τὰ προκείμενα.*

8. **χαλεπά** for *χαλεπόν*, 11. 10 *δῆλα*, 17. 16 *πρόδηλα, οὐδέτερα, μηδέτερα*, etc. Such plurals are very common in Herodotus, especially perhaps in verbal nouns in *-τέα.*

10. **ἔξεις**, 'you will be master of,' 'in possession of.' This seems better than *comperta habebis*, a meaning which the context hardly

bears out. Schweighäuser is in favour of *occupabis*, separating the passage from vii. 234. 15 ἔχεις τὰς διεξόδους τῶν βουλευμάτων, where he also translates ἔχεις *comperta habes*.

11. **ἰσχυρὰ βουλεύματα**, 'resolute counsels,' i. e. determination to resist by force. *ἰσχυρά* does not appear in one class of MSS., but it can hardly be due to correction.

πέμπε χρήματα. Cf. infr. 5. 6 εἴτε δὴ δεδεγμένος χρήματα παρὰ Μαρδονίου, and 41. 14, where Artabazus makes much the same proposal as the Thebans. Herodotus constantly hints at the effects of money in Greece: Cleomenes of Sparta is tempted by Maeandrius and Aristagoras, and is suspected of receiving bribes to allow Argos to escape (vi. 82); Leotychidas, a contemporary king, is condemned of bribery on his failure in Thessaly (vi. 72); Themistocles also receives bribes, though not against the interests of his country. Timagenidas and the leading Thebans hope to escape by means of bribes from the punishment of their Medizing (infr. 88). The priestess of Delphi is bribed by the Alcmaeonidae to insist on their return to Athens (v. 63).

ἐς τοὺς δυναστεύοντας ἄνδρας, i. e. to the influential men. Thus Miltiades is a 'dynast' in Athens in the time of Pisistratus (vi. 35), and Attaginus and Timagenidas are dynasts in Thebes. The Thebans no doubt speak of Greece as though other cities were under the rule of families in the same way as Thebes, which at this time was under the control of a *δυναστεία ὀλίγων* Thuc. iii. 62. Yet the word *στασιωτέων* just below implies that the Medizing party would probably be in revolt against the governing body in the cities.

12. **πέμπε, πέμπων δέ**, a very common form of repetition, used by Herodotus as a means of connecting sentences. Cf. e. g. 11. 3 *ἐπῆλθον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους . . . ἐπελθόντες δέ*: ib. 16 *ἐπειρώτων . . . ἐπειρόμενοι δέ*, infr. 21. 16 note.

2. **δεινός τις ἐνέστακτο ἵμερος.** For a list of similar graphic C. 3.
expressions used by Herodotus in this book see Appendix ii.

4. **ἀγνωμοσύνη**, 'perversity,' or perhaps 'selfishness' rather than 'vanity' (Stein). So in the next chapter *ἀγνωμοσύνη* is the perversity of the Athenians in adhering to their determination.

πυρσοῖσι διὰ νήσων as Agamemnon had signalled his victory over Ilium to Argos. Herodotus attributes the ambition of a Greek to Mardonius, an ambition which it must have been difficult for him to realize completely as the Western Aegean was in the control of the Greek navy now stationed at Delos. For *πυρσοί* see viii. 183. 2.

6. **οὐδὲ τότε** = not even on this (second) occasion.

ἐς τὴν ὑστέρην. *ἐς* = 'compared with,' of a past event. Usually *ἐς* is used (in a temporal sense) of the time against or for

which an action is fixed, e. g. 52. 4 *ἐς τὴν δὴ συνέκειτό σφι ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι*, etc. There seems to be no other instance in Herodotus precisely parallel to this.

C. 4. 5. **προέχων**, 'previously aware of,' a unique sense in Herodotus.

6. **ὑπήσειν τῆς ἀγνωμοσύνης**, cf. infr. 33. 21 *μετίεσαν τῆς χρησμοσύνης*.

C. 5. 1. **τὴν βουλήν**. The Athenians therefore maintained the forms of the constitution, though their city was destroyed and themselves homeless.

2. **ὡς ἐδόκεε**. Nothing of course could legally be brought before the people, except by the decision of the council (the so-called *προβούλευμα*).

8. **οἱ ἔξωθεν**, those who stood outside, awaiting the decision of the council. **ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς** implies the breaking up of the meeting. Cf. viii. 56 ult. *διαλυθέντες ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου*.

10. **κατέλευσαν βάλλοντες**. A similar story is told in Dem. De Cor. § 204 of Cyrsilus, who before the battle of Salamis counselled submission to the Persians. It is hardly likely that both stories should be true.

τὸν δὲ Ἑλλησπόντιον Μ. So viii. 135. 14 *τὸν Εὐρωπέα Μῦν*. In 4. 2 the phrase is **Μ. ἄνδρα Ἑλλησπόντιον**. So infr. 16. 6 *Θερσάνδρου ἀνδρὸς Ὀρχομενίου*, and at the end *ταῦτα μὲν τοῦ Ὀρχομενίου Θ*.

13. **διακελευσαμένη** as in 22. 20 *διακελευσάμενοι ἔλαυνον τοὺς ἵππους πάντες, δια-* implying rivalry of one with another.

14. **οἰκίην**, i. e. the house in which they lived at Salamis. For an act of similar savagery on the part of the Athenian women see v. 87, where the sole survivor of the Athenian army which invaded Aegina is pricked to death by the wives of the dead with the pins of their robes.

C. 6. 1. **ὧδε**, of the causes which led to the removal.

3. **τιμωρήσοντά σφι**. For the pronoun at the end of the sentence cf. 13. 7 *ὁμολογήσειν σφέας*, 35. 3 *πάντως συνεχώρεόν οἱ*, 37. 14 *τὸν ταρσὸν ἑωυτοῦ*, etc.

οἱ δέ. For this unnecessary **δέ** cf. 48. 21 *οἱ δ' ὧν . . . μαχέσθων*, *ib.* 23 *ἡμεῖς δὲ διαμαχεσώμεθα*, 70. 6 *οἱ δ' ἠμύνοντο*, etc. It is said to occur only after pronouns and pronominal articles.

4. **σχολαίτερα ἐποίεον**, 'acted in a dilatory manner.'

5. **οὕτω δή**, *tum demum*, 'as often.'

9. **ὅτι περιεῖδον**. In dependent clauses the aorist takes the place of the English pluperfect; 'because they *did*' = 'because they *had* done.' The reason is that the Greeks use the pluperfect far more exclusively for an action of which the results continue or are regarded

as continuing in existence than we do. Any change in habits, dress, position, might be marked by the pluperfect; but the mere act in past time is expressed by the aorist.

12. **προεῖπαι** after *ἔπεμπον*. Cf. infr. 54. 6 *ἔπεμπον ἱππέα ὀψόμενον . . . ἐπειρέσθαι τε.*

2. **Ὑακίνθια.** The festival of the Hyacinthia, at Amyclae. The festival was held in the month Hyacinthius = July–August, and commemorated the death of Hyacinthus by the quoit of the sun-god, Apollo. Athenaeus, p. 139, quoting Polycrates, tells us that the festival lasted three days, and gives an account of the first two. On the second, which was the great day of the feast, *οὐδεὶς ἀπολείπει τὴν θυσίαν, ἀλλὰ κενοῦσθαι συμβαίνει τὴν πόλιν πρὸς τὴν θέαν.* **C. 7.**

περὶ πλείστου δ' ἦγον, 'they held it of the most importance.' *ἄγειν* is here equivalent to *ποιεῖσθαι*. Compare Soph. Ant. 34 *ἄγειν παρ' οὐδέν*. In v. 63 the Spartans obey the command of Delphi bidding them expel the Pisistratids from Athens, though they were their friends, *τὰ γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ πρεσβύτερα ἐποιεῦντο ἢ τὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν*. At the first Persian invasion (Marathon) they delayed their expedition because they had a law which forbade them to go out on the ninth of the month, *μὴ οὐ πλήρεος ἐόντος τοῦ κύκλου* vi. 106. These excuses were not always believed; infr. c. 54 the falsehood of the Lacedaemonians is stated in the plainest terms.

3. **τὸ τεῖχος.** Cf. viii. 71. When the Peloponnesians heard of the death of Leonidas at Thermopylae, they collected with all haste at the Isthmus, under the command of Cleombrotus. They immediately destroyed the Scironid pass, and set about building a wall across the Isthmus, resting neither day nor night. But before the wall was completed they were dispersed by an obscuration of the sun, which they took for an eclipse (infr. c. 10); the work was renewed in the ensuing spring, and brought to an end.

7. **ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους.** The Ephors seem to have controlled the foreign relations of Sparta, at any rate after the reign of Cleomenes. In vi. 106 Phidippides, on his visit to Sparta, is introduced *ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας*, who are, no doubt, the ephors. But Aristagoras, and Maeandrius before him, visits Cleomenes the king (though the Ephors expel Maeandrius). *ἐπελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον, τὸ κοινόν, τοὺς ἐφόρους* are phrases which denote the formal audience of an envoy.

According to Idomeneus ap. Plut. Arist. c. 10 Aristides was the Athenian envoy, but in the decree of Aristides the envoys were Cimon, Xanthippus, and Myronides. (But was not Xanthippus with the fleet at Delos? infr. 114. 10.)

10. **ἄνευ δόλου καὶ ἀπάτης,** *nullo dolo malo*, in fair and honourable alliance. For an instance of Persian treachery compare the

conduct of Amasis at Barca (iv. 201). The tautology of the terms in the compact is a part of official language; viii. 140 *a*. 21.

12. **Δία Ἑλλήνιον.** This must not be taken to mean that there was a Zeus Hellenius worshipped by all the Greeks in the same manner as Zeus Olympius was worshipped at Olympia. Zeus Hellenius was worshipped at Aegina, and possibly at Sparta. But the epithet was convenient when it was necessary to mark the unity of Greece. The form of the adjective implies a Zeus of the Hellenes, or of Hellen, rather than of Hellas.

14. **οὐ καταινέσαμεν ἀλλ' ἀπειπάμεθα.** For this combination of positive and negative, which is a characteristic form of expression in Greek, cf. infr. 41. 20 *ἀγνωμονεστέρη καὶ οὐδαμῶς συγγινωσκομένη*, 55. 12 *μαινόμενον καὶ οὐ φρενήρεα*.

16. **κερδαλεώτερον μᾶλλον.** The combination is not uncommon in Herod., i. 31. 18 *ἄμεινον ἀνθρώπῳ τεθνάναι μᾶλλον ἢ ζώειν*, *ib.* 32. 26 *οὐ γὰρ ὁ μέγα πλούσιος μᾶλλον τοῦ ἐπ' ἡμέρην ἔχοντος ὀλβιώτερός ἐστι*, etc., Schw.

17. **οὐ μὲν οὐδέ**, an emphatic negative. No *δέ* is required for the *μέν*.

18. **καὶ . . . Ἕλληνας**, 'so clear of all suspicion (so genuine) is our conduct towards the Greeks.' *τὸ ἀπ' ἡμέων* as *τὸ ἀπὸ θεῶν*, etc. **νέμεται**, lit. 'is distributed.'

22. **διότι**, not after *ἐξεμάθετε*, but parallel to *ἔπειτε*.

23. **ἐν τέλεϊ** = *πρὸς τέλεϊ* in the next chapter.

24. **τὸν Πέρσην** must be the accusative after *ἀντιώσεσθαι*, which verb, elsewhere in Herodotus, takes the dative, the accusative being used with *ἀντιάζειν*. Such unique constructions occur with other words, as the dative with *προσωφελέειν* in 103. 8, *κατεδόκεον* 99. 17.

The future infinitive is used by Herodotus after verbs of agreeing, affirming, expecting, etc., *ὑποδεξάμενοι σχήσειν* 12. 5, *ἐλπίζων ὁμολογήσειν* 13. 6, *ἀνείλε ἀναιρήσεσθαι* 33. 8, etc., and often with *δοκέω*.

30. **ἐκέλευσαν . . . ὡς ἂν δεκώμεθα.** The conjunctive is common in Herodotus after a historical tense, but even when the optative is used *ἄν* is often preserved, e. g. in 22 ult. we have *ἤλαυνον ὡς ἂν ἀνελοίατο*, 51. 15 *μετακινέεσθαι . . . ὡς ἂν μὴ ἰδοίατο*.

C. 8. 3. **τὴν ἑτέρην**, 'the next.'

6. **σφι ἦν**, i. e. *τὸ τεῖχος*.

7. **ἀπικομένου μὲν Ἀλεξάνδρου**, cf. c. 1 note.

12. **μεγάλως** with *ἐργάζοντο* = 'on a great scale.' Cf. infr. 16. 3 *παρασκευασάμενος μεγάλως*.

C. 9. 1. **τέλος**, adverbial.

3. **καταστάσιος**, 'formal audience.' Cf. *καταστὰς ἔλεγε πολλά*,

etc. The whole clause may be rendered 'on the day before that fixed for the last audience.' The recurrence of the space of ten days in this ninth book is remarkable. The Athenians are kept waiting at Sparta ten days; the attack at Plataea is delayed ten days: and the Greeks remain ten days on the battle-field before proceeding to Thebes, c. 41, c. 86.

4. **ἀνὴρ Τεγεήτης.** The relations between Tegea and Lacedaemon are not easy to understand. Here is a Tegean at Sparta, and held in great estimation there. Yet Tegea is a refuge for any persons who are in danger at Sparta, e. g. Leotychidas, vi. 72, cf. infr. c. 37. The independence of the city was completely recognised, in spite of the conquest by Sparta. Similar relations prevailed between Rome and the subject cities of Italy, e. g. Tibur, Praeneste.

3. **ἀπὸ τῶν πολίων**, i. e. Athens, Megara, Salamis. C. 10,

νυκτὸς ἔτι. The preparations had no doubt been made previously. So large a force of Spartans was never sent out on any expedition before or after, so far as we know.

4. **ἑπτά.** The common practice was to send one Helot only with each Spartan. This large number is noticed again cc. 28 and 29. Perhaps the Spartans were afraid to leave the Helots behind them, when marching out in such large numbers.

5. **Παυσανίῃ τῷ Κλεομβρότου.** The following table exhibits the relations of the Spartan kings and the commanders of this expedition:—

Anaxandridas.

Cleomenes.	Dorieus.	*Leonidas.*	Cleombrotus.
Gorgo.	Euryanax (?).	*Pleistarchus.*	Pausanias.

Anaxandridas was succeeded on the throne by Cleomenes who, dying without male issue, was succeeded by Leonidas (who married Gorgo). It is not clear why Euryanax, if a son of Dorieus, did not succeed before Leonidas. Stein suggests that Dorieus by his expatriation had lost his rights of succession, for we are told by Plutarch, Agis, 11, that no Heraclid could settle in an alien country (*ἐπὶ μετοικισμῷ*) on pain of death.

11. **τὴν τὸ τεῖχος δείμασαν**, i. e. in the previous year. See note on 7. 3.

14. **ἐπὶ τῷ Πέρσῃ**, 'with a view of attacking the Persian.' This implies that some plan of attack was entertained or professed in the autumn of 480 B. C.

ὁ ἥλιος ἀμαυρώθη. This was not an eclipse, for nothing of the kind can be fixed for this year, but some remarkable obscuration

of the sun, which was sufficient to serve as an unfavourable omen.

15. Dorieus, the half-brother of Cleomenes, if this is the person here meant, perished in an attempt to found a colony in Sicily. He had previously failed in an attempt to establish himself on the Cinyps in Libya. See v. 46.

C. 11. 2. **ἐγεγόνεε**, so infr. 41. 2 but also 118. 6 *ὡς δὲ ἡμέρη ἐγένετο*.

6. **παίζετε**, 'amuse yourselves' with singing and dancing, as was the custom on the second day of the festival.

11. **ὁκοῖον ἂν . . . ἐκβαίνῃ**. The conjunctive with *ἄν* here takes the place of the usual indicative future, e.g. 13. 5 *ὁκοῖόν τι ποιήσουσι*. **ἐξ αὐτοῦ**, *ex illa re*.

13. **ἐπ' ὅρκου**, 'on the assurance of an oath.' No exact parallel seems to occur, but we may compare such a phrase as *δόξης ἐπιβάντες* Soph. Phil. 1463.

εἶναι: supply *τοὺς ἐξεληλυθότας*. It is not known where the place here called Orestheum lay. It must have been somewhere on the direct route from Sparta to the Isthmus, and therefore it cannot have been to the North West of Sparta, in which direction lay the district known as Oresthia.

14. **ξείνους γάρ**, etc. Cf. infr. 53. 8, 55. 11.

18. **τῶν περιοίκων Λακεδαιμονίων**. These also must have been summoned to Sparta to be in readiness for an immediate march if necessary.

C. 12. **ἡμεροδρόμος**, a runner who could run for a whole day. Cf. vi. 105 of Phidippides *ἡμεροδρόμον καὶ τοῦτο μελετῶντα*.

5. **σχήσειν**, 'to restrain,' so *ἴσχειν* infr. l. 9.

8. **ἡ νεότης**. The term perhaps includes all men of age for military service (*ἡλικία*), but from the fact that the Irenes—i. e. the men from 20 to 30 years of age—were buried separately after the battle of Plataea, we may conclude that a large proportion of the Spartans were young men. In the Elegiac poets *νέοι* are the men of military age, e.g. Callin. 2.

C. 13. 3. **πρὶν ἢ πυθέσθαι ἀνεκώχευε**. Cf. *πρὶν ἢ ἐμβαλεῖν* just below, infra 16 ult. *πρότερον ἢ γενέσθαι*, supra 9 ult. *ἐσακούσατε πρὶν . . . δόξαι*. So also with the indic. 22. 13. Remarkable uses of *πρίν* and *πρότερον*, owing to the omission of *ἄν*, are 86. 6 *μὴ ἀπανίστασθαι πρότερον ἢ ἐξέλωσι*, 87. 5 *μὴ πρότερον ἀπαναστῆναι ἢ ἐξέλωσι*, 93. 23 *οὐ πρότερον παύσεσθαι πρὶν ἢ δίκας δώσι*, 117. 5 *οἱ δ' οὐκ ἔφασαν πρὶν ἢ ἐξέλωσι*.

8. **πάντα λόγον**, not of anything said, but of the whole situation of affairs.

12. **εἵνεκεν**, Herod. uses *εἵνεκα* and *εἵνεκεν*: the latter generally

before vowels, but not always (εἵνεκεν θέλων 91. 2, εἵνεκεν καί in 104. 6); and on the other hand εἵνεκα ὅκως ὡς ἵνα, etc. occur.

12. ἱππασίμη, yet ἱππασίμῳ infra, end of chapter (? χώρῳ).

13. ὅτι μὴ κατὰ στεινόν, i. e. over the mountain passes through Cithaeron and Parnes by Eleutherae, Phyle, and Decelea.

16. πρὸς πόλι, 'in the neighbourhood of.'

C. 14. 3. The words Λακεδαιμονίων χιλίους explain ἄλλην στρατιήν. Herodotus uses the words στρατιή and στρατός of an army; στράτευμα is both an army and an expedition; στρατόπεδον is an army in camp, or a camp; στρατηίη and στρατηλασίη are = 'an expedition.'

4. θέλων εἰ. For this curious construction (if genuine) cf. vi. 52. 17 βουλομένην εἴ κως ἀμφότεροι γενοίατο βασιλῆες.

5. ὑποστρέψας, 'turning short on the march,' see 22. 17.

7. ἐς ταύτην κ.τ.λ. The actual point reached was Pegae, the Megarian port on the Corinthian gulf, which lay in the route from the Isthmus to Boeotia. Delphi was far to the west of Pegae, and the Persians had been at Delphi in the summer of 480 B.C., but 'this army' (of Mardonius) is distinguished from that of the preceding year, see c. 41. 15.

C. 15. 4. Decelea commanded the pass which led from the upper Plain of Athens to Oropus and Tanagra. By thus moving to the East Mardonius left the Western passes of Cithaeron (from Megara and Eleusis into Boeotia) open to the Greeks.

οἱ βοιωτάρχαι. The executive officers of Boeotia. The leading cities of Boeotia formed a confederacy each electing a Boeotarch, with the exception of Thebes, which appears to have elected two. Unless the Boeotarchs were with Mardonius, μετεπέμψαντο must mean sent for (as infr. 82. 15) and then sent to Mardonius. τοὺς προσχώρους τῶν Ἀσωπίων, those of the Asopians who dwelt near the proposed route of Mardonius. Scolus was a village on Cithaeron in a rugged and difficult situation but important because commanding the passes of the mountain (Stein). It was on the south side of the Asopus, and therefore the Theban territory must have reached to Cithaeron. Strabo, p. 408, speaks of the Parasopii as 'all under the dominion of Thebes,' but there was a doubt about Scolus, Eteonus, and Erythrae.

13. ἐποιέετο, where we should expect ποιέεσθαι. The position of the fortified camp is doubtful. It is generally placed on the northern side of the river Asopus; but Stein places it on the southern side in the neighbourhood of Scolus, and that is the impression which we receive from this chapter. If this view of the situation be adopted we must suppose that the Persian army now lay along both sides of the Asopus, extending from the

neighbourhood of Scolus into the territory of Plataea. It may be added that nothing is said of the river Asopus when the Greeks pursue the Persians to the fortress. This is remarkable, if they *did* cross to the north side of the river, for the omens had previously forbidden them to cross. There are however great objections to this view. (1) The Persian infantry are always spoken of as beyond the river, which they cross in spite of ill omens for the final attack. (2) No attempt is made by the Persians to secure the passes of Cithaeron till eight days have passed, which is strange if their fortified camp were on the south side of the river. (3) Even in the final struggle the Persians do not seem to have been at any great distance from the fortified camp, which implies that it lay further to the west than Scolus. And as Herodotus is very explicit in making the river the limit which divides the two armies, it seems better to place the fortified camp on the northern bank.

C. 16. 6. **ἥκουον.** For similar personal statements made by Herodotus in this book see Appendix ii.

7. **λογίμου ἐς τὰ πρῶτα,** 'a man of the greatest consequence.' Herodotus often adds such notes; cf. Chileus in c. 9, Harmocydes in 17, Masistius in 20, Artabazus in 41, etc.

10. **κλῖναι,** sc. *τὸν Ἀτταγῖνον.*

ὡς ἀπὸ δείπνου ἦσαν, 'when the meal was over;' **διαπινόντων,** 'while they were drinking their wine;' **δια-** may imply 'drinking pledges' to each other.

15. **ὁμόσπονδος.** The drinking would be preceded by libations to the gods.

19. **ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ,** so infr. 19. 11, sup. 15. 15 *παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν.*

20. **ὀλίγου τινὸς . . . ὀλίγους τινάς.** The repetition is, of course, intentional. *τινός* (*τινάς*) gives emphasis to the adjective; so *δεινός τις*, etc. Infr. 101. 15.

22. **πολλὰ τῶν δακρύων.** The article is used just as it would have been in *πολλὰ τὰ δάκρυα.*

23. **αὐτός,** i. e. Thersander.

25. **αἴνῃ,** 'honour,' i. e. authority.

26. **ὅ τι δεῖ γενέσθαι κ.τ.λ.** Cf. iii. 43, where Amasis is said to have perceived (on hearing that Polycrates had recovered his ring) that it was impossible for one man to save another from the evil which was destined to come upon him. So also in i. 91 we are told that even a god cannot escape his appointed doom. 'And the Fates could not be turned from their course' in regard to Croesus, even by Apollo (ibid.). Cf. Soph. Ant. 1337 *πεπρωμένης οὐκ ἔστι θνητοῖς συμφορᾶς ἀπαλλάγη.*

27. **οὐδὲ γὰρ πιστά κ.τ.λ.** For a striking instance of this belief at least in the mind of Herodotus see what he says of Helen in ii. c. 120 end. The Trojans could not restore Helen because she was not at Troy, nor could they make the Greeks believe that she was not at Troy, for the deity wished to make them a signal instance of divine vengeance.

29. **ἐχθίστη δ' ὀδύνη κ.τ.λ.** Cf. Soph. O. T. 316 *φεῦ φεῦ, φρονεῖν ὡς δεινὸν ἔνθα μὴ τέλη λύει φρονοῦντι.*

32. **λέγοι πρὸς ἀνθρώπους,** 'published abroad.'

4. The Phocians had not furnished a contingent to Mardonius **C. 17.** as he marched southwards from Thessaly; they therefore did not join in the invasion of Attica (Athens is here put for the whole of Attica). When Mardonius returned into Boeotia they joined him there. The clause *ἐμήδιζον γάρ* is added to show that the absence of the Phocians did not exclude them from the number of those *ὅσοι ἐμήδιζον*. [The Thessalians compelled the Phocians to Medize, and therefore the expression in the text, *ἐμήδιζον σφόδρα*, means 'were distinctly on the side of the Medes' (after hesitation). Cf. vii. 174 *Θεσσαλοὶ δέ, ἐρημωθέντες συμμάχων, οὕτω δὴ ἐμήδισαν προθύμως*. Some of the Phocians did not Medize at all, but were driven into Parnassus, whence they attacked the Persians, infr. 31. 25]. For the facts see viii. 27–30.

6. **μετὰ τὴν ἄπιξιν ὕστερον,** such redundance is common, infr. 77 *μετὰ τὴν ἄπιξιν τῆς γυναικός . . . αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα*, 83 *ὑστέρῳ χρόνῳ μετὰ ταῦτα*, 85. 18 *δέκα ἔτεσι ὕστερον μετὰ ταῦτα*, etc.

10. **ἐπ' ἑωυτῶν,** 'by themselves.'

14. **κατακοντιεῖ,** Herodotus uses the 'Attic' form of the future in verbs in *-ίζω*.

17. **προόπτῳ θανάτῳ.** So Soph. O. C. 1440 *ἐς προῦπτον Ἀΐδην*.

18. **ἄνδρα–ἀγαθόν,** take these words together.

20. **ποιεῦντάς τι . . . τελευτῆσαι κ.τ.λ.** Soph. Aj. 468 *καὶ δρῶν τι χρηστὸν εἶτα λοίσθιον θάνω*;

21. **παρέχοντας,** 'submitting,' 'giving ourselves up.'

αἰσχίστῳ μόρῳ. The same phrase occurs in Soph. Aj. 1059.

23. **φόνον ἔρραψαν,** a Homeric phrase. Od. 16. 379 *οὕνεκά οἱ φόνον αἰπὺν ἐράπτομεν*. Cf. infr. 52. 7.

8. **οὐκ ἔχω δ'.** Cf. Appendix ii. **C. 18.**

10. **δεηθέντων Θεσσαλῶν,** who were ancient enemies of the Phocians, viii. 27 ff. *ἅτε σφι ἐνέχοντες αἰεὶ χόλον*, etc.

12. **τρώματα,** 'wounds,' not 'disasters,' as infr. 90. 2, 100. 9.

18. **εὐεργεσίῃσι κ.τ.λ.** Cf. c. 89. 17 for a similar grandiloquent promise, and what is said in viii. 85 of the king's 'benefactors.'

19. **τὰ περὶ Φωκέων κ.τ.λ.** Cf. 66 init. *ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο ἐγένετο*, 77 ult., 114. 2. **ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐγένετο**, 'reached this limit.'

C. 19. 3. **τὰ ἀμείνω**, i. e. the patriotic cause.

5. **Λακεδαιμονίων**, gen. with *λείπεσθαι*, which has thus two genitives depending on it.

7. **Ἐλευσῖνα**, i. e. they intended to engage the enemy in the Thriasian plain, as the Athenians had suggested (supr. 7. 32). But finding that he had retired, they again sacrificed to obtain omens for the advance into Boeotia.

10. **ἐς Ἐρυθράς.** Erythrae lay to the right of the pass which leads from Eleusis by Eleutherae into Boeotia. Nothing is said of any opposition on the part of the Persians, though Herodotus has described their camp (encamped army) as extending from Erythrae to the Plataeis (15. 14). We must therefore assume that they had already retired beyond the Asopus (*ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀσωπῷ*, etc., is here used for *παρὰ τὸν Ἀσωπόν* in 15. 15). The words **ἔμαθον τε δή** imply that the Greeks did not perceive the Persians till they found them on the Asopus.

12. **φρασθέντες δέ.** The *δέ* is awkward after **ἔμαθόν τε.** We should expect *ἔμαθον* or *φρασθέντες τε*.

In this, which was their first position, we must suppose that the Greeks lay along the roots of Cithaeron, facing northwards towards the Asopus.

C. 20. 2. **τὴν ἵππον τῆς ἱππάρχεε.** *Etymological* repetitions, if the name may be allowed, are common in Herodotus; e. g. *κατὰ συντυχίην ἔτυχον* 21. 1, *ἐθέλοιεν ἐθελονταί* 21. 14, *φυλασσόμενος ὑπὸ φυλάκων* 37. 15, *ἔργον ἐργάσατο* 37. 10. Often they seem due to mere indifference, or what would be indifference in a modern writer. At other times they are employed for emphasis, as *ψήφῳ ψηφίζεσθαι* 55. 10, *χρημάτων χρήζοντες* 87. 7.

3. **εὐδοκιμέων**, cf. 24. 6.

4. **Νησαῖον**, i. e. from the Nesaean or Nisaean plain in Media. Cp. vii. 40. 11 **Νησαῖοι δὲ καλέονται ἵπποι ἐπὶ τοῦδε· ἔστι πεδίον μέγα τῆς Μηδικῆς τῷ οὔνομά ἐστι Νήσαιον· τοὺς ὦν δὴ ἵππους τοὺς μεγάλους φέρει τὸ πεδίον τοῦτο.**

7. **κατὰ τέλεα**, 'by companies,' so that the attack could be constantly kept up.

8. **γυναῖκας.** Cf. infr. 107. 6 f.

C. 21. 1. The Megarians may have ventured too low into the plain; cf. infr. 69. 8 f.

9. **στάσιν**, 'position,' so in 48. 8 if the reading is allowed (for *τάξιν*).

10. **λιπαρίῃ τε καὶ ἀρετῇ**, 'courage and endurance,' as in 70. 10.

16. **Ἀθηναῖοι.** As the Megarians joined the Athenians in their embassy to Sparta, and were next to them in the Second Position, it is probable that they were close at hand here. Of the body of 300 Athenians here mentioned we know nothing more, though the article (**οἱ** *τριηκόσιοι λογάδες*) implies that it was a well-known troop. **Ἀθηναῖοι–Ἀθηναίων,** repetition for *connection*. Cf. **ἐδέξαντο καὶ δεξάμενοι ὥσαντο** 25. 2, etc., and note on 2. 12.

22. As the glory of the battle of Plataea belonged mainly **C. 22.** to the Spartans, Herodotus makes the most of this achievement of the Athenians. At the attack on the *τεῖχος* also the success is mainly attributed to the Athenians, though the Tegeatae were the first to enter, infr. c. 70.

3. **τοὺς τοξότας,** i. e. the light armed Athenians of the lowest (political) class. Not to be confounded with the Scythian archers, who formed the police at Athens.

7. **ἵσταται ὀρθός,** 'rears up.'

10. **ἀμυνόμενον,** 'in spite of his resistance.'

11. **ἐντός,** 'under.'

14. **τὸ ποιεύμενον,** 'what was being done,' i. e. that they were striking at his scale armour.

15. 'Such was the manner of his death.' **ἔπεσε,** resumes the *πεσόντι* of l. 8.

16, 17. **πεσόντα,** of the instantaneous fall (aor.). **ἀποθνήσκοντα,** of the continued struggle which ended in his death (pres.).

17. **ἀναχωρήσιός τε γινομένης καὶ ὑποστροφῆς,** 'While they were retiring and wheeling round for a fresh attack.' *ὑποστροφή* denotes a turning round to face any one, when retiring. Cf. *ὑποστρέψας* 14. 5, where Mardonius when retiring turns again upon Megara, and Soph. O. T. 728 *ὑποστραφείς*, where Oedipus stops short on hearing Jocasta. So also Thuc. iii. 24 describes the Plataeans as going from Plataea along the road to Thebes and then turning back (*ὑποστρέψαντες*) to Hysiae.

19. **ἔστησαν,** 1st aorist, supply *τοὺς ἵππους*.

20. **διακελευσάμενοι.** Cf. 5. 13.

21. **ὡς ἂν . . . ἀνελοίατο,** see note on 7. 30.

7. **ἱππόται,** a Homeric word, often used by Herodotus for the **C. 23.** common *ἱππεῖς*.

9. **ἀποστήσαντες,** 1st aorist, cf. 22. 19 (*ἀπο-*, 'at a distance,' 69. 10).

10. **στάδια,** but supr. 15. 17 *σταδίους*, Herodotus is not careful in such matters.

11. **ἀναρχίης ἐούσης,** as they had lost their leader and could not supply his place (22. 19).

C. 24. 5. **ἠχώ**, 'the sound of their lamentations.' The wailing of the oriental nations strongly impressed the Greeks: cf. Aesch. Pers. 1043 ff., where it is represented to an excess which seems to us absurd, and ib. Choeph. 423 *ἔκοψα κόμμον Ἄριον ἔν τε Κισσίας νόμοις ἰηλεμιστρίας*. For the exaggeration in *ἅπασαν τὴν Βοιωτίην κατεῖχε*, cf. vii. 1. 10 *ἡ Ἀσίη ἐδονέετο*, of the preparations of Darius.

C. 25. 6. **τῶν δὲ εἵνεκα**, i. e. 'owing to the size and beauty of the corpse.' Cf. viii. 24. 12 *ἐκλιπόντα τὴν τάξιν . . . θεήσασθαι*, of the Persians and the corpses at Thermopylae.

The increased courage of the Greeks was shown in two things; (1) they dared make a show of the corpse of Masistius, and even to leave their lines to look at it; and (2) they ventured from the position that secured them from the Persian horse. This last applies especially to the Lacedaemonians, who had hitherto been beyond the reach of the horse.

8. **ἐς Πλαταιάς**, i. e. into the territory of Plataea, as *ἐς Ἀθήνας* is into Attica (17. 3), *ἐς Θήβας*, into Boeotia. This second position was ten stades from the *νῆσος*, which was three stades broad and *πρὸ τῆς πόλιος*, i. e. just outside the city (?). Thucydides iii. 24 says that the heroum of Androcrates (infr. l. 15) was on the right of the road from Plataea to Thebes, and not more than a mile from the town. Plutarch, on the other hand, Vit. Arist. c. 11 puts the heroum near the temple of Demeter, which he describes as near Hysiae and in the rocky ground at the foot of Cithaeron. This does not agree with Thucydides, nor with Herodotus, who distinguishes the second and third positions of the Greeks by the heroum and the temple. But it is difficult to reconcile the statements of Herodotus and Thucydides about the site of the heroum.

12. **τὴν ἐν τῷ χώρῳ τούτῳ ἐοῦσαν**. Observe the repetition. So below l. 17 *τῆς Γαργαφίης* is added to *κρήνης* as in l. 12. See c. 29 where the Helots who went out with the Spartans are twice mentioned, and 51 end *ἐκ τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος, πρὸς τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα, ἐν τῷ Κιθαιρῶνι*, etc.

17. A hero was one who having been human was canonized as it were after his death. He had a shrine and certain offerings. This meaning of the word is unknown in the Homeric poems, where a 'hero' is still a living man.

18. The right wing was on the higher ground, the left in the plain nearer the Asopus.

C. 26. 2. **λόγων πολλὸς ὠθισμός**, a great altercation or dispute as in viii. 78. 1. For *ὠθισμός* in a literal sense see infr. 62. 10.

3. **τὸ ἕτερον κέρας**, 'the left wing.' Cf. infr. 28 and 28. 2.

4. **τοῦτο μέν**. Cf. 27. 2, when the Athenians begin their reply.

6. **ἐκ = ὑπό.** Cf. 66. 6, etc. So frequently in Soph. e. g. O. C. 67 *ἐκ τοῦ κατ' ἄστυ βασιλέος τἀδ' ἄρχεται.* **ὅσαι ἤδη κ.τ.λ.** In all this there is a good deal of exaggeration. The Peloponnesians are spoken of as if they had anciently formed a sort of confederation, which was not the case. Only with the rise of Lacedaemon was Peloponnesus even partially united, and the Tegeatae were long at war with Lacedaemon.

7. **τὸ νέον,** a remarkable expression, as the article is not found with *νέον* in the sense of recently. Stein thinks it has been added to range with *τὸ παλαιόν*. With adverbs the article is of course common.

8. **ἐπειρῶντο . . . κατιόντες.** The construction of *πειρᾶσθαι* with the participle is commoner than with the infinitive in Herodotus: cf. 33. 15; 53. 18.

11. **τῶν τότε ἐόντων.** They had subsequently been driven out of the north of the Peloponnesus by the Achaeans.

12. **ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμόν.** 'Beyond the "execrable rock" (the rock from which Sciron threw his victims) occurred the sepulchre of Eurystheus, who was slain here by Iolaus, after which there was a descent to the temple of Apollo Latous, near which was the boundary of the Megaris and Corinthia, in a spot where Hyllus, son of Hercules, was said to have fought with Echemus the Arcadian.' Leake, *Northern Greece*, 2. p. 415. See Pausanias, i. 44. 10.

13. **ἀγορεύσασθαι.** No other instance of the middle voice of this verb occurs in Herodotus.

14. **ἀνακινδυνεύειν,** 'to run the risk of.' *κινδυνεύειν,* 'to be in danger of.'

17. **ἐπὶ διακειμένοισι,** 'on fixed terms' = *ἐπὶ λόγῳ τοιῷδε,* just below. *συγκείμενα* is the usual word.

20. **ἐπὶ τὰ πατρώια,** Heracles having in one way or another established a claim to nearly the whole of the Peloponnesus (Elis, Laconia, Argos).

22. **ἑκατόν τε ἐτέων.** A hundred years was equivalent to three generations. Temenus Cresphontes and Aristodemus, under whom the Dorians 'returned' to the Peloponnesus, were descendants in the third generation of Hyllus.

24. For **Φηγέος** Pausanias, viii. 5. 1, gives *Κηφέως*.

31. **παρίεμεν,** 'we allow you.' Sc. *ἄρχειν*; cf. *ἄλλῳ παρήσομεν οὐδενὶ ναυαρχέειν* vii. 161. 16.

32. **ἡμέας** after **ἱκνέεσθαι,** 'that it comes upon us.' The construction is noticeable for the omission of *ἐς* (vi. 57. 22 *δικάζειν ἐς τὸν ἱκνέεται ἔχειν*).

35. **εὖ ἔχοντες**, 'successful.' Cf. 27. 18 and 26.

38. **ἤ περ**, as though *δικαιότερον* had preceded. A similar ellipse is found with *βούλομαι*.

39. **οὔτ' ὤν**. *ἄν* throws the stress on the *καινά*, in which perhaps the Tegeatae refer to Marathon.

C. 27. 5. **προέθηκε**. Schweigh. suggests 'praetulit' as the meaning, as it is in iii. 53. 16 *πολλοὶ τῶν δικαίων τὰ ἐπιεικέστερα προτιθεῖσι*. But the word is probably used in the sense of 'put forward,' 'set on foot' (instituere). According to Plutarch Aristides was the spokesman on this occasion.

10. **τούτους** merely resumes **Ἡρακλείδας**, and thus the *τοῦτο μέν*, which should have come before **Ἡρακλείδας**, is allowed to stand before it. These three achievements, (1) the protection of the Heraclids, (2) the burial of the Argives, (3) the expulsion of the Amazons, are the common-places of Athenian orators, when commending their city. Cf. Isocrates, Paneg 54 ff.; Panath. 168 ff., 193 ff.; Lysias, Epitaph. 3 ff.; Demosthenes, Epitaph. 8, etc.

17. **τοὺς νεκρούς**. This accusative repeats and defines **Ἀργείους** *τοὺς κ.τ.λ.* l. 14.

19. **Ἀμαζονίδας**. A feminine form in the place of the usual **Ἀμαζόνες**. For the Amazons see Duncker, *History of Greece*, vol. 1. The so-called 'Amazoneia,' or tombs of the Amazons, were found in Athens, Megara, Chalcis, Boeotia, and Thessaly, i. e. on the eastern side of Greece. The legend probably preserves a trace of the occupation of the coast by a nation practising oriental rites, in which women, armed as men, took a part. Cf. iv. 180. 5, where maidens fight at the festival of Athene among the Machlyes. The legend described the invasion of Attica by the Amazons as an act of revenge for the injury done by Theseus in carrying off Antiope (or Hippolyte) the queen of the Amazons.

21. **οὐδαμῶν ἐλειπόμεθα**. No signal act of Athenian prowess could be recorded before Troy. Hence the negative form of expression.

29. **οἵτινες**, 'seeing that we.'

31. This is the number of the nations given in vii. 60-80 (*τὰ κατ' ἤπειρον στρατευόμενα ἔθνεα*), but all these nations were not represented in the Persian force at Marathon.

36. **κατ' οὔστινας**, 'opposite what force.' Cf. 31. 5, etc.

37. **ὡς πεισομένων**, 'in the certainty that we will obey.'

40. **ἔσχον**, 'got,' 'obtained,' i. e. *τὸ κέρας*. **ὑπερεβάλοντο τοὺς Τεγεήτας**, cf. 2. 7, 51. 2, and notes.

C. 28. 7. **καὶ τιμῆς εἵνεκα καὶ ἀρετῆς**, 'in order to do them honour,' and 'owing to their valour.'

9. ἵσταντο, 'took their position,' a Homeric word. Il. 2. 558 ἵσταντο φάλαγγες.

10. The Potidaeans were colonists of the Corinthians. Their town had been besieged by Artabazus in the preceding autumn. Cf. viii. 128, 129.

15. Lepreum was a city in Southern Elis (or Triphylia), which survived the destruction of the Triphylian cities by the Eleans (iv. 148. 16), owing no doubt to the friendship of the Spartans, whom it supported in the second Messenian war.

16. Mycenae and Tiryns here act independently of Argos, which is not only unable to prevent the Lacedaemonian force from marching out, but even allows these four hundred Hoplites to come from the cities nearest to her. In vi. 83 we are told that the δοῦλοι of Argos established themselves at Tiryns. For a time the two cities were at peace; then the slaves made an attack on Argos, and the war thus begun ended in the destruction of Tiryns. Were these the men who came to Plataea? About 16 years after the battle of Plataea, both Mycenae and Tiryns were conquered and destroyed by the Argives (Diod. xi. 65, Strabo, p. 372).

26. τελευταῖοι καὶ πρῶτοι, last in the order from the right wing, and first as being nearest the enemy. The number of Athenians at Marathon was 9000.

C. 29. 1. τῶν ἑπτὰ κ.τ.λ. So infr. 7 and 28. 5, and supr. 10. 4.

8. παρήρτητο, 'was equipped' (the perf. or pluperfect is common in describing dress, equipment, etc.). The word does not necessarily imply training.

9. ὡς εἷς κ.τ.λ., i. e. taking an average of one light armed for one hoplite. Herodotus had no accurate knowledge of the precise number; he gives 800 more for the light armed than for the hoplites. Excluding the Spartans and their Helots, there are 33,700 hoplites, 34,500 light armed.

C. 30. 7. αἱ ἕνδεκα μ. The article is used of the full and complete number. Seven hundred Thespians had fallen at Thermopylae.

9. οὐδ' οὗτοι. These as well as the light armed had no weapons. ὅπλα must be taken in the Greek sense of the weapons of a hoplite.

C. 31. 2. Cf. c. 24. ὡς ἀπεκήδευσαν, 'when they had made an end of lamenting,' 'had done it till they wished to do it no more.' Cf. ii. 40 ult. ἀποτύψωνται, Thuc. ii. 46 ἀπολοφυράμενοι. Thus ἀπο- in composition has a double sense of doing a thing completely, and ceasing to do it. Cf. the Latin *de-* in *debellare, desaevire.*

4. ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀσωπὸν τὸν ταύτῃ ῥέοντα. They had previously been ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀσωπῷ, but they now marched higher up the stream, i. e. nearer Plataea, and probably to the very bank of the river.

7. **ἐπὶ τάξις πλεῦνας**, 'in deeper ranks.' Cf. vi. 111 *τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ μέσον ἐγίνετο ἐπὶ τάξιας ὀλίγας, καὶ ταύτῃ ἦν ἀσθενέστατον τὸ στρατόπεδον.*

8. **ἐπεῖχον**, 'overlapped,' 'covered.' So **ἐπέσχον** l. 15. For the change of tense cf. 51 **ἔδοξε, ἐδόκεε.**

10. Cf. infr. 71. 6.

25. Cf. supr. c. 17. 4, note. **ηὖξον**, 'supported.' These non-Medizing Phocians were driven from the lower country to the fastnesses of Parnassus; cf. viii. 36 ff., where the Delphians fly thither for refuge.

30. **τοὺς περὶ Θεσσαλίην οἰκημένους.** Such were the Dolopians, Enianes, Perrhaebians, Locrians, Melians, and Achaeans of Phthiotis, all of whom gave earth and water to the king, vii. 132.

C. 32. 1. **ταῦτα κ.τ.λ.**, 'in these have been enumerated' the greatest.

7. For the Hermotybeis and Calasireis cf. ii. 164 ff. Herodotus puts the number of the first (in Egypt) at 160,000, and of the second at 250,000.

10. **ἀπεβιβάσατο**, sc. Mardonius. In vii. 89. 12 we are told: 'The Egyptians furnished 200 ships. They wore plaited helmets on their heads, their shields were hollow with large rims, they carried spears for fighting at sea, and large axes. The majority of them wore corslets (? linen) and had large knives.' See Rawlinson's notes there and on this present passage.

12. **ὡς καὶ πρότερον κ.τ.λ.** But 20,000 of the troops assigned to Artabazus had perished, for in viii. 126. 3 Artabazus is in command of 60,000 men, and in ix. 66 he has only 40,000.

C. 33. 1. **κατὰ ἔθνεα**, cf. 25. 16. **κατὰ τέλεα**, cf. 20. 7, 23. 1. Each *ἔθνος* would of course have its own *τέλεα*.

2. **καὶ ἀμφότεροι**, Persians as well as Greeks. Cf. 37. 4 *καὶ γὰρ οὗτος* (Μαρδόνιος) *Ἑλληνικοῖσι ἱροῖσι ἐχρᾶτο.*

5. **γένεος**, 'belonging to the race of,' as e. g. in Soph. O. T. 1383 *καὶ γένους τοῦ Λαΐου.* The Iamidae were the priests who prophesied at the altar of Zeus at Olympia. They derived their origin from Iamus the son of Apollo—for whose birth see Pindar's Sixth Olympian Ode. The Clytiadae were a separate family descended from Clytius a son of Alcmaeon, and belonging to the house of Melampus. The word **Κλυτιάδην** in the text is therefore an error (Paus. vi. 2, 5; 17, 6).

6. **λεωσφέτερον**, 'one of their people.' Did Herodotus know the legend of Tyrtaeus?

7. **περὶ γόνου**, 'about issue.' He was probably childless. It was not uncommon for the oracle to give answers beyond the point immediately in question, e. g. iv. 150. 8 *χρεομένῳ δὲ τῷ Γρίνῳ περὶ ἄλλων χρᾷ ἡ Πυθίη κτίζειν ἐν Λιβύῃ πόλιν.*

11. **πεντάεθλον.** The Pentathlum combined five exercises: leaping, running, throwing the spear, throwing the quoit, wrestling. *πάλαισμα* in the text refers to the actual wrestling. (So Pausanias understood the words, iii. 11. 6 *καίτοι τὰ δύο γε ἦν πρῶτος· καὶ γὰρ δρόμῳ τε ἐκράτει καὶ πηδήματι Ἱερώνυμον Ἄνδριον. Καταπαλαισθεὶς δέ κ.τ.λ.* Hieronymus then won with the quoit and the spear; the two met in the final bout, and Tisamenus was defeated.) **ἔδραμεν παρ' ἕν,** 'ran within one.' The preposition is used as in *παρὰ μικρόν*, 'within a little.' (He had one contest *to pass* (*παρά*) in order to win.) And *δραμεῖν* as in viii. 102. 13 *πολλοὺς πολλάκις ἀγῶνας δραμέονται.*

15. The Lacedaemonian kings were, as a rule, the leaders in all expeditions and they offered sacrifices. The appointment of Tisamenus was extraordinary and due to the oracle. Cf. vi. 56 where among the privileges of the Spartan king are mentioned: *καὶ πόλεμον ἐκφέρειν ἐπ' ἣν ἂν βούλωνται χώρην·* and *προβάτοισι δὲ χρᾶσθαι ἐν τῇσι ἐξοδίῃσι ὁκόσοισι ἂν ὦν ἐθέλωσι* (for sacrifice). See also Xen. De Rep. Lac. c. 13.

18. **ἀνετίμα** = *ἐπορέγεται* in 34. 10.

21. **δεινὰ ἐποιεῦντο,** 'took it ill.' *δεινὰ ποιέεσθαι* is 'to take a thing ill,' *δεινὰ ποιέειν* (a rarer expression) is to show temper or vexation, by outward act or gesture.

καὶ μετίεσαν . . . παράπαν. There is some doubt about the meaning of these words. Schweigh. understands *χρησμοσύνη* of the office of seer, and translates *μετίεσαν* 'missum fecerunt.' He explains the grammar thus: '*μετίεσαν* (subintellige *αὐτόν*) *τῆς χρησμοσύνης* (scil. *ἕνεκα*). Missum fecerunt hominem cum sua vaticinandi opera.' This is not a satisfactory explanation of the genitive. Stein takes *χρησμοσύνη* (need) as='request.' It may then be connected with *μετίεσαν* (in the common way, as *τῆς ἀγνωμοσύνης* with *ἀπήσειν* in 4. 6), 'abandoned their request altogether.' Bähr however translates 'wollten die Weissagung ganz fallen lassen,' 'were for letting the sooth-saying drop altogether;' and so Dindorf (Didot) 'missam fecerunt illius artem divinandi.' There seems to be no authority for this sense of *χρησμοσύνη.*

24. **μετιόντες,** 'going after him,' and thereby showing their eagerness.

2. **ὡς εἰκάσαι . . . *αἰτεί̓μενον.** 'So far as one may compare a C. 34.
man who asks for monarchy (as Melampus did) with one who asks for citizenship (as Tisamenus did).' The MSS. have *αἰτεύμενος.* Stein reads *αἰτεομένους* = 'men who ask for.' *αἰτεύμενος* is not impossible: we may join it with *ἐμιμέετο,* 'In these words he imitated Melampus in his request, to compare citizenship to

monarchy.' But the emendations give a less involved construction.

4. The three daughters of Proetus had brought upon themselves the punishment of madness by an act of impiety, and the disease spread to other women in Argos. Melampus, whose home was at Pylus, cured them; and as a reward demanded one of the daughters, with her share of the kingdom for himself, and a second with a like share for his brother Bias.

6. **προετείνατο,** 'proposed,' i. e. demanded.

7. **ἀπιόντων,** i. e. from Pylus.

9. **ἦισαν δώσοντες,** 'they were on the point of giving.' So *ἔρχομαι ἐρέων,* 'I proceed to relate.'

13. **ἐς στεινόν,** 'into a corner.' The word *στενόν* is similarly used in the Attic of Demosthenes.

C. 35. 3. **πάντως,** 'in every way.' For the position of *οἱ* cf. supr. 6. 3.

9. **ἐπὶ δὲ ὁ ἐν Τεγέῃ.** Of this battle and that mentioned next nothing is certainly known. We may connect the first with the conquests which Argos made about sixteen years after the battle of Plataea, supr. 28. 16.

10. Dipaea was a fortress in the Moenalian district of Arcadia.

12. **Ἰθώμῃ** is a correction for the *Ἰσθμῷ* of the MSS. The so-called third Messenian war is meant. The battle of Tanagra took place in 457 B. C., Thuc. i. 107. Other subsequent events are mentioned in this book in connection with

The death of Hegesistratus, c. 37.
The death of Sophanes, c. 75.
Decelea, c. 73.
The death of Arimnestus, c. 64.
The death of Hermolycus, c. 105.

C. 36. 3. **ἀμυνομένοισι,** if they remained on the defensive.

4. **διαβᾶσι δὲ τὸν Ἀσωπόν.** The river now divided the combatants. For the difficulties which sometimes arose at the crossing of a river cf. the position of Cleomenes on the Erasinus in his invasion of Argolis (vi. 76). The inability to obtain favourable omens for crossing compelled him to adopt a fresh line of attack.

C. 37. 5. In viii. 27. 10 we hear of a Tellias of Elis, who advises the Phocians how to meet the Thessalians.

7. **ἔδησαν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ.** The ordinary phrase is *ἔδησαν τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ.* In this case Hegesistratus was not only put in the prison (*ἐρκτή* iv. 146. 5), but also fastened in stocks (*ξύλον,* cf. vi. 75. 8).

9. **τρέχων περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς,** an unfortunate metaphor to use of a man placed in the stocks, but a favourite with Herodotus! Cf. vii. 57. 6 *περὶ ἑαυτοῦ τρέχων,* viii. 74. 2 *περὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἤδη θέοντες.*

12. **πάντων,** of all men. Cf. viii. 105. 2 *τῷ μεγίστῃ τίσις ἤδη ἀδικηθέντι ἐγένετο πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν,* infr. 78. 7.

16. **τὸν τοῖχον,** which was probably made of unburnt bricks.

23. **ἐς Τεγέην.** Supr. 9. 4. The explanation here given, *ἐοῦσαν οὐκ ἀρθμίην,* etc., will hardly suffice when we remember that Leotychidas and Pausanias (the king) ended their days as exiles in Tegea.

25. **ἐκ τῆς ἰθέης,** 'openly.' Cf. *ἰθέῃ τέχνῃ* infr. 57. 5.

26. **συνήνεικε,** 'was for his advantage.'

27. **συγκεκρημένον** is Reiske's conjecture for the MSS. reading *συγκεκυρημένον,* which can only be taken = 'which fell out between.' ('Passiva verbi forma indicat fortasse mutuum odium,' Schweigh., but he doubts the certainty of the reading.)

C. 38. 5. **ἐκαλλιέρεε,** impersonal. The middle voice is used of the seer who procures favourable sacrifices.

7. **ἐπ' ἑωυτῶν,** 'to themselves.'

Λευκάδιον ἄνδρα. Western Greece abounded in prophets and seers. Tisamenus and Hegesistratus are Eleans. Deiphonus the seer at Mycale (c. 93) is a native of Apollonia. Amphilytus, who advised Pisistratus (i. 62), was an Acarnanian. Megistias the seer at Thermopylae was also an Acarnanian, vii. 221.

9. For Timagenidas see infr. c. 86.

10. **ἐκβολάς,** 'outlets,' i.e. the passes opening out of the mountain into Boeotia. The word is often used of the mouth of a river.

12. **ἀπολάμψοιτο.** Opt. fut. from *ἀπολαμβάνειν.* The optative is of course due to oratio obliqua, though an indicative (*ἐπιρρέουσι*) precedes. But the fact stated in the indicative is more certain than that put in the optative.

C. 39. 5. 'Pausanias, after returning from Hysiae into the road leading from Eleutherae to Plataea, describes the monument of Mardonius as being on the right hand of that road, and immediately afterwards states that there was a road from Megara to Plataea, on the right of which were the fountain of Diana and the rock of Actaeon. Thus it is evident that the road from Plataea to Megara was different from that leading from Plataea to Eleutherae; and we find the same distinction in Xenophon, who states that Cleombrotus, marching from the Peloponnesus into Boeotia, avoided the Pass of Eleutherae, which was in possession of an Athenian force under Chabrias, and mounted by the road which led to Plataea,' Leake, *N. G.* ii. p. 333. Mardonius may have seized both these passes; the last mentioned or western would be the nearest route for cattle coming from the Peloponnesus (cf. infr. 51. 20).

10. **εἵποντο,** 'accompanied.'

13. **περιβαλόμενοι**, 'surrounding them.' *περιτάμνεσθαι* is used in the same sense.

C. 40. 7. **ἔφερον τὸν πόλεμον**, so c. 18. 15. Herodotus implies that the Thebans left the fighting to the Persians. But cf. infr. 67. 5. The cavalry of the Sacae were the most distinguished, infr. 71. 2.

C. 41. 1. **δ'κα**. Cf. supr. 9. 3.

2. **ἐγεγόνεε**. Supr. c. 11. 2.

4. **τῇ ἔδρῃ**, 'at the delay.' Cf. Soph. Aj. 811 *οὐχ ἕδρας ἀκμή*. Thuc. v. 7 *τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀχθομένων τῇ ἕδρᾳ*.

5. **Μαρδόνιος κ.τ.λ.** The titles are given in full to mark the gravity of the discussion. Cf. vii. 204, and viii. 131, infr. 64. In viii. 126 we are told that Artabazus was held in higher estimation than ever, after his conduct at Plataea.

8. **ἀναζεύξαντας** with *τὸν στρατόν*, cf. 58. 18; viii. 60. 9, elsewhere the word is used intransitively.

9. **τὴν ταχίστην** with *ἰέναι*, infr. 66. 15.

10. **ἔνθα . . . ἐσενηνεῖχθαι**. The clause is treated as part of the statement of Artabazus, hence the infinitive, which is common in relative clauses in Herodotus.

15. Cf. supr. 2. 5. Demosthenes, Phil. 3. § 42, mentions a certain Arthmius of Zela, who brought 'gold from the Medes into Peloponnesus.' Plutarch, Arist. c. 13, mentions a plot in the Persian interest among the Athenian oligarchs in the army at Plataea, and we have the story of the Alcmaeonids, who wished to bring the Persians to Athens after Marathon (Herod. vi. 123, 124). For bribery cf. c. 2.

17. **συμβάλλοντας**, i. e. *τοὺς Πέρσας*.

19. **ὡς . . . τούτου**. 'For he was better instructed in the position of affairs.' **καί**, Artabazus as well as the Thebans.

21. **συγγινωσκομένη**, 'conciliatory,' 'inclined to concession.' Cf. v. 86 *οἱ μὲν ἀπαιτέοντες τὴν χώρην*, *Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ οὐ συγγινωσκόμενοι*, 'not yielding to their request.' **δοκέειν**, inf. after *ἐγίνετο γνώμη*. *δοκέειν* is impersonal, 'he thought.'

22. **συμβάλλειν**, inf. after *ἐγίνετο γνώμη*. He was for attacking at once. The preceding clause, though put as co-ordinate, *τε . . . τε*, gives the reason for *συμβάλλειν*.

25. **βιάζεσθαι** (sc. *τὰ σφάγια*), 'vim inferre hostiis,' 'cogere velle victimas ut vel invitae litent,' Schweigh. It is also possible to supply *ἑαυτούς*—and translate: 'and not put constraint upon themselves,' or even to take the word as it is used in Soph. Ant. 66 *ὡς βιάζομαι τάδε*, i. e 'not to be constrained.' It was not the custom of the Persians to sacrifice before battle.

C. 42. 1. **δικαιεῦντος**, = 'deciding.'

9. **ἐν ἀδείῃ κ.τ.λ.** 'Not considering it safe to say what he knew.'

11. Onomacritus had been conveyed to Persia, vii. 6, where he announced many oracles. The Pisistratidae were also skilled in oracles, and would doubtless impart them to the Persian court.

15. Yet in the previous year a party of Persians had gone to Delphi: see viii. 35 ff. Mardonius might consider that this offence had been expiated by the disaster of Salamis or regard his expedition as entirely distinct. See supr. 14 where the Megarid is said to have been the most western point reached by 'this army.'

17. **ὑμέων ὅσοι τυγχάνουσι.** Cf. 98. 14 for the same disregard of concord.

18. **ὡς . . . ἡμέας**, an acc. absolute.

C. 43. 2. **ἔχειν ἐς**, 'referred to.' The oracle in the judgment of Herodotus referred to an attack of the Illyrians, and more specially of the Enchelees, who were in part Cadmeans of Thebes settled in Illyria upon Delphi. Cf. v. 61.

5. **ἐστί** is difficult, because *πεποιημένα* is required for **Μουσαίῳ** in l. 10 as well as for **Βάκιδι**. If it is retained, as *πεποιημένα* cannot be in construction with **Μουσαίῳ**, we must follow Bekker in reading **Μουσαίου**. Other oracles of Bacis are quoted in viii. 20. 77 (where Herodotus asserts that he will not contradict Bacis himself or listen to those who do) and 96. In the time of Aristophanes Bacis was little more than a name for an impostor, *Peace* 1070

> **ΙΕΡ.** *εἰ γὰρ μὴ Νύμφαι γε θεαὶ Βάκιν ἐξαπάτασκον,*
> *μηδὲ Βάκις θνητούς, μηδ' αὖ Νύμφαι Βάκιν αὐτόν,*
> **ΤΡ.** *ἐξώλης ἀπόλοι', εἰ μὴ παύσαιο βακίζων.*

7. There is no verb to govern *σύνοδον* as the oracle is quoted incompletely.

8. **ὑπὲρ μόρον**, Homeric. It expresses violent, untimely death, suffering, etc., e. g. *ὑπὲρ μόρον ἄλγεα πάσχειν.*

C. 44. 1. **τὴν ἐπειρώτησιν τῶν χρησμῶν.** 'The enquiry about the oracles.'

3. **προελήλατο**, impers.

7. The Macedonians were ranged opposite to the Athenians, see supr. c. 31 ult.

12. **ὀνομάζων**, 'mentioning by name.' We know the names of three of the Athenian generals who were present at Plataea—Aristides, Leocrates, and Myronides. Some of the generals of the year were no doubt with the fleet at Delos, e. g. Xanthippus, infr. 114. 10.

C. 45. 4. **ἀπόρρητα ποιεύμενος**, i. e. 'forbidding you to divulge them.' The same expression occurs infr. 94. 2.

7. The Macedonian kings claimed to be Argives of the stock

of Temenus, and the claim was allowed by the Hellenodicae at Olympia. See the story given in viii. 137 of the migration of Perdiccas and his brothers from Argos to Macedonia.

10. **δύναται**, for this use of *δύναμαι* cf. vii. 134. *ἡ μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοῖσι Σπαρτιήτῃσι καλλιερῆσαι θυομένοισι οὐκ ἐδύνατο.*

15. Alexander refers to the supplies in the camp. At Thebes there were ample supplies, cf. 41. 10.

18. **ἐλευθερώσιος πέρι**, 'with respect to setting me free.' Alexander had joined the Persian cause against his will. When his father Amyntas entertained the Persian envoys who demanded earth and water for Darius, Alexander slew them all (v. 18 ff.). Afterwards he hushed up the matter by giving large presents of money and the hand of his sister Gygaea to Bubares the Persian who was sent in search of the slaughtered envoys. Hence the present *ἔργον παράβολον* is quite in keeping with the character of the man.

C. 46. 4. **ἐς ἠῶ**, i. e. that is the time fixed for the attack.

5. **στῆναι** = to take up a position.

7. **εἵνεκα· ὑμεῖς**, cf. supr. 13. 12, note.

8. **μάχην** with **ἐπίστασθε** = 'mode of fighting.'

10. The Spartans at Thermopylae had all perished with the exception of Aristodemus (infr. c. 71), who remained at Alpeni suffering from ophthalmia, and took no part in the battle.

17. **ἀρρωδέομεν**, imperf. without augment. Herodotus constantly uses the conjunctive after past tenses in the main clause.

C. 47. 2. **ἠώς**, i. e. the morning of the twelfth day, from the arrival of the Greeks in their present or Second Position.

8. **ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐπωνύμου**, 'on the left,' supply a general word—**ἐποίεε**.

C. 48. 7. **ἐς χειρῶν νόμον ἀπικέσθαι**. Cf. viii. 89. δ *ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ ἀπολλύμενοι*. The phrase seems to mean a hand to hand conflict.

8. For **τάξιν ἐκλείποντας**, which is the common phrase for leaving the ranks or position, another reading is *στάσιν ἐκ*. Cf. 21. 9.

9. **ἐν Ἀθηναίοισι**. The preposition as in the common *ἐν Καρὶ ὁ κίνδυνος*. **αὐτούς** is of course 'yourselves.'

10. **δούλων** are the Boeotians whom the Persians have enslaved.

17. **ἀλλ'**, cf. 42. 11.

20. **τί οὐ . . . ἐμαχεσάμεθα**; this use of the aorist, idiomatic in Attic, is not found elsewhere in Herodotus (Stein). The meaning is, 'why don't we at once?' Aesch. P. V. 747

τί οὐκ ἔρριψ' ἐμαυτήν;

21. **ὕστεροι**, so as not to interfere with our conflict.

22. **ἀποχρᾶν**, sc. *δοκέοι*. **ἡμεῖς δέ**. For *δέ* cf. supr. 6. 3; infr. 85. 14, etc.

23. **διαμαχεσώμεθα**, 'fight it out,' *δια-* as in *διακελευσάμενοι*, *διαδικασία*, *διαδρᾶν*, etc.; infr. 58. 8, 11.

24. **νικᾶν**, i. e. we propose that they be the victors. The infinitive marks the clause as part of the proposal of Mardonius. For *νικᾶν* = 'to be victorious' cf. infr. 100. 5.

3. **τὰ καταλαβόντα**, 'what had happened,' lit. what had come upon him. **C. 49.**

4. **ψυχρῇ**, 'foolish,' 'silly.' The word is used as we use 'flat' (of a joke, etc.).

The whole of the Greek front from Gargaphia to the Asopus is now exposed to the attack of the Persian horse. First the Athenians, etc., are driven so far from the Asopus that they cannot water there, and are compelled to go to Gargaphia, and finally the Persians drive the Lacedaemonians from Gargaphia, at any rate to such a distance that they can destroy the spring.

6. The seizure of the pass (c. 39), took place on the eighth day after the *διάταξις* (26 ff.), and it is now the twelfth; for four days therefore the Greeks must have been without fresh supplies from the Peloponnesus, and dependent on the immediate neighbourhood, which had been laid waste by the Persians in the preceding autumn. **C. 50.**

2. **ὑπερβάλωνται**, 'delay.' *ὑπερβάλλομαι* is thus used by Herodotus: (1) 'to get the better of,' with acc. as in 27 ult.; (2) 'to put off,' with accus. of the thing deferred, as in 45. 14; and (3) 'to delay,' with acc. of time, as here. **C. 51.**

6. **νῆσος δ' οὕτω κ.τ.λ.** 'That there should be an island in the mainland is due to the following cause.' The description would lead us to suppose that the stream separated on the slope of Cithaeron and reunited lower down in the plain. Col. Leake, who examined the ground carefully, found no trace of this; he marks four rivulets, which flow from Cithaeron and unite to make the Oeroe, but each has a separate source. **ὁ ποταμός** is the Oeroe.

8. **ὅσον περ τρία στάδια**, 'exactly (*περ*) three stades.'

10. **οἱ**, sc. *τῷ ποταμῷ*. For a feminine name of a river cf. the Dirce at Thebes. The Oeroe flows to the West, the Asopus to the East; the ground on which the army lay was the watershed.

13. **ὥσπερ κατ' ἰθὺ ἐόντων**, 'as when they (i. e. the Greeks) were immediately opposite to them.' Cf. 58. 14, 115. 2.

18. **περισχίζεται** = *σχίζεται περί*. So i. 84. 13 *περιενειχθέντος τὸ τεῖχος*, 'being carried round the wall,' etc. **ὑπὸ τὴν νύκτα**, 'in the course of the night.' Cf. infr. 58. 8.

19. **τοὺς ἡμίσεας.** This would be the right wing, which composed about one-half of the whole army. The movement was a retreat from the river towards the roots of Cithaeron, and it was made for three objects: (1) to secure water; (2) to escape the constant and distressing attacks of the Persian horse, which would be unable to operate amid the streams and on the rocky grounds; (3) to secure the westernmost pass over Cithaeron.

C. 52. 5. **ἀερθέντες.** The usual word is *ἄραντες*. 'Vertunt sublatis utensilibus aut collectis vasis: ubique generalis notio *ἀερθῆναι* apud nostrum subjecta videtur haec esse *erigere se, surgere, loco se movere*,' Schweigh. Lex. s.v.

7. **ὡς ἐκινήθησαν,** infr. 54. 5. The word reminds us of the Homeric *κίνυντο φάλαγγες*. For similar Homeric words or phrases cf. *ἔρραψαν φόνον* 17. 23, *φόβῳ* 69. 1, *ἀλκῆς ἐμέμνητο* 70. 20, *ἐλθὼν ἀνὴρ κάλλιστος* 72. 3, *ἀναπλήσῃ* 87. 7, *ἑτεραλκέα* 103. 7, *ἀνάπυστα* 109. 1.

9. The precise site of the Heraeum is uncertain. Pausanias ix. 2. 7 mentions it, but gives no indication of the situation. It is here said to be *πρὸ τῆς πόλιος*, an expression also used of the 'island.' As there were ten stades between the two, we must suppose that the Heraeum was outside the city walls in a different direction from the island. This flight of the centre (from the Corinthians on the right to the Megarians on the left) divided the Greek army into two disconnected bodies: on the right, near Gargaphia, were the Lacedaemonians and Tegeatae, on the left, lower in the plain, the Athenians and Plataeans. The former amounted to 53,000, of which 41,500 were light armed: the latter to 17,200 of which half were light armed. The numbers which retreated would be about 40,000.

C. 53. 4. **κατά,** 'after.'

8. **τοῦ Πιτανητέων λόχου.** Pitana was one of the 'demes' of Sparta. It is perhaps with reference to this passage that Thucydides denies the existence of a Pitanensian 'lochus' at Sparta, i. 20. But though there was no standing division of the Spartan army known as the Pitanensian, the inhabitants of Pitana may on this occasion have been placed in one division. Herodotus had been at Pitana (iii. 55. 8), and was therefore likely to have accurate information. (Thuc. l. c. speaks of a *λόχος Πιτανήτης*, and so infr. l. 14, but the reading *Πιτανητέων* here is supported by all the MSS.) **τοὺς ξείνους,** cf. 11. 15.

11. **τῷ προτέρῳ λόγῳ,** i. e. the discussion in c. 51. It is noticeable that in an army where discipline and obedience were so strictly enforced as the Spartan, Amompharetus should refuse to obey the command of his superior. Throughout the whole

conflict there seems to have been very little centralization of authority in the Greek forces.

C. 54. 4. **ἐπιστάμενοι.** This plain declaration is remarkable in the mouth of Herodotus. The passage may have been written at a time when the Athenians and Lacedaemonians, if not at war, were at least suspicious of each other, but the Spartans had already been false to their promise of assistance, supr. 7. 24.

5. **ἱππέα.** This and infr. 60. 3 are the only passages in which mention is made of a horseman in the Greek army at Plataea.

8. **ἐπειρέσθαι,** cf. 6. 11. **τό,** 'what'; the relative for the indirect interrogative, so *βουλεύσωνται τὸ ποιητέον* viii. 40. 6, *ὃς γένοιτο* infr. 71. 12, etc.

C. 55. 5. **μένοντας μούνους.** The plural includes the whole of the troops under the command of Amompharetus.

7. **καὶ ὃ κῆρυξ**='and then it was that.' Cf. *καὶ ἡ ἵππος* 57. 14.

11. Cf. 11. 15.

12. **μαινόμενον καὶ οὐ φρενήρεα.** Cf. supr. 7. 14. **ὁ δέ** is resumed in **ὁ Παυσανίης. πρός τε τὸν Ἀ. κ.** The preposition is not needed; Stein, in order to save it, suggests *τραπόμενος πρός*. Pausanias wished the Athenians to close up, so as to present a continuous line to the enemy.

C. 56. 2. **ἀνακρινομένους,** 'at variance.' So in viii. 69. 7 *ἀνάκρισις* is used of the adverse criticism of Artemisia.

3. **ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ κατήμενος,** 'who during all this time had remained in his position' (cf. 55. 2). For *κατήμενος*='remaining inactive,' cf. infr. 72. 6.

5. **διὰ τῶν κολωνῶν,** i. e. towards Cithaeron.

7. **τὰ ἔμπαλιν,** not, of course, 'in a contrary' but 'in a diverse direction.' The contrast is between *τῶν ὄχθων* and *ἐς τὸ πεδίον*. With *Ἀθηναῖοι* repeat *ἦισαν* from l. 7.

C. 57. 3. **περιείχετο αὐτοῦ κ.τ.λ.,** i. e. clung to the determination that his men should remain there (*αὐτοῦ*) and not leave the rank.

5. **ἰθέῃ τέχνῃ,** cf. *πάσῃ τέχνῃ*, etc.

7. **ὅσον τε δέκα στάδια,** the distance of the island, 51. 5. The Moloeis was doubtless a tributary of the Oeroe. Leake regarded it as the most western of the three tributaries which rise in close proximity. In that case the 'island' must have been between the Moloeis and the fourth tributary, and this would correspond to the description of it as *πρὸ τῆς πόλιος*. From l. 10 it seems clear that Pausanias stopped short of the island, of which indeed we hear no more in the account of the battle.

10. **ἧσται,** an unusual expression for a temple, for founding

which ἵδρυται is the common word. This however has just been used of an army.

11. ἀπολείπῃ, sc. Amompharetus, but in μένωσι Amompharetus and his λόχος are included.

13. οἱ ἀμφὶ Ἀμομφ. = Amompharetus and his company, a common idiom, repeated infr. 69. 7, etc. καὶ οἵ τε . . . καὶ ἡ ἵππος, i. e. 'no sooner had they come than the horse attacked,' see supr. 55. 6.

15. ἐποίευν. They began the attack early, as they had done before, but not finding the Greeks in their old position they pressed on till they reached them.

C. 58. 3. Θώρηκα, cf. supr. 1. 7.

6. οὐ φεύγειν κ.τ.λ. So Demaratus had told Xerxes, vii. 104. 19 ff. 'The Spartans have a master whom they dread far more than your subjects fear you; at any rate they always obey him; that master is the law, which ever gives the same command, bidding them not to fly before any number of men whatever, but to remain at their posts and conquer or perish.'

8. μετισταμένους, 'changing position,' διαδράντας, 'running away' (each as fast as he could).

11. διακριθῆναι, 'to settle the question.' οὐδένες ἄρα ἐόντες, 'being of no value' (as they are found to be, ἄρα). οὐδαμοῖσι has the same meaning as οὐδένες, which is not found elsewhere in Herodotus, and if genuine is contrary to Ionic use.

14. ἐπαινεόντων, cf. supr. 51. 13 κατ' ἰθὺ ἐόντων. τοῖσί τι κ.τ.λ., 'of whom you had some personal knowledge, see 60. 17.

15. Ἀρταβάζου κ.τ.λ., θῶμα ἐποιεύμην τὶ = ἐθαύμαζον (the imperfect refers to the council described in c. 41) and takes the same construction, i. e. a gen. of the person (Ἀρταβάζου) and an acc. of the thing (τὸ καὶ καταρρωδῆσαι).

19. πολιορκησομένους, 'to endure a siege.' Mid. for pass. *more Ionico.*

C. 59. 3. ἐπεῖχε, 'he directed his forces.' Mardonius, no doubt, thought that the Lacedaemonians were making for the pass of Dryoscephalae, and hurried on to cut them off from it. This would lead him into the broken ground at the foot of Cithaeron, so that the plain of the Asopus would be out of sight. Still it is remarkable that with his enormous forces he should not have covered the whole ground; or at least so much of it, that the Athenians were not out of sight. That he did not, is a proof of the disorderly haste with which the Persians pressed on, leaving the rest to follow as they chose, and not less so is the fact

that he chose to fight on ground where his horse could not help him.

8. **κόσμος** refers to the order of the whole army, **τάξις** to the arrangement of the various battalions.

C. 60. 2. **Παυσανίης.** The narrative goes back to the end of c. 57, when the Lacedaemonians were exposed to the attack of the Persian horse, but their infantry had not yet advanced.

15. Take **ἀδύνατόν τι** together = 'inability'; **καταλελάβηκε**, 'has come upon you.' 'Sin vos ipsi occupati estis, ut succurrere nobis non possitis.' **τοὺς τοξότας**, supr. 22. 2 note.

C. 61. 4. **τὸ προσκείμενον**, 'the attacking body.' Cf. 63. 7 *τὸ τεταγμένον*.

7. 5000 Spartans with 35,000 Helots = 40,000.
5000 Lacedaemonians with 5000 Helots = 10,000.
1500 Tegeatae with 1500 *ψιλοί* = 3000.

10. The apodosis is really given in l. 15, where *τῶν σφαγίων οὐ γινομένων* resumes **οὐ γάρ σφι κ.τ.λ.** **ἔπιπτον δὲ κ.τ.λ.** continues the protasis.

12. **φράξαντες τὰ γέρρα.** The *γέρρον* was a light shield of wicker work, apparently adopted by the Persians from the Assyrians, see Rawlinson's note *ad loc.* and vii. 89. Two explanations of the phrase *φράξαντες τὰ γέρρα* have been suggested: (1) 'planting the shields upright' by the spiked extremities, or by a crutch (Rawlinson), so as to form a shelter behind which they could shoot their arrows; (2) 'putting together their shields,' so as to form a breast-work, cf. infr. 99. 19 **συνεφόρησαν** *τὰ γέρρα ἔρκος εἶναι σφίσι*. This meets the objection that the *γέρρα* placed singly would make too slight a barrier to resist the attack of the Spartan infantry. It is clear from 63. 8, 102. 12 that the *γέρρα* offered some resistance. Plutarch does not throw much light on the meaning of the passage: he says, Arist. c. 18, *διὸ καὶ προθέμενοι πολλὰ τῶν γέρρων ἐτόξευον τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. οἱ δὲ τηροῦντες ἅμα τὸν συνασπισμὸν ἐπέβαινον καὶ προσπεσόντες ἐξεώθουν τὰ γέρρα*: but his words seem in favour of the second explanation, and so also are the expressions infr. c. 102 *ἕως ὄρθια ἦν τὰ γέρρα* (l. 7), *διωσάμενοι τὰ γέρρα* (l. 12).

The armour of the Greeks consisted of a helmet, a corslet, greaves, or leg-pieces, and an oval shield which covered the body from the shoulder to the knee, or lower. The offensive weapons were a spear about eight feet long and a sword. The light armed seem to have carried javelins, and, at any rate in early times, to have sheltered themselves behind the heavy armed (as Teucer was defended by the shield of Ajax, Hom. Il. viii. 231).

The following passage of Tyrtaeus (frag. 6. 21 ff. Pomtow)

allows us to understand what was the armour of the Spartan (?) hoplite in the time of the second Messenian war (circ. 650 B. C.) :—

ἀλλά τις εὖ διαβὰς μενέτω ποσὶν ἀμφοτέροισιν
στηριχθεὶς ἐπὶ γῆς, χείλος ὀδοῦσι δακών,
μηρούς τε κνήμας τε κάτω καὶ στέρνα καὶ ὤμους
ἀσπίδος εὐρείης γαστρὶ καλυψάμενος·
δεξιτερῇ δ' ἐν χειρὶ τινασσέτω ὄβριμον ἔγχος,
κινείτω δὲ λόφον δεινὸν ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς·
ἔρδειν ὁ ὄβριμα ἔργα διδασκέσθω πολεμίζων,
μηδ' ἐκτὸς βελέων ἑστάτω ἀσπίδ' ἔχων.
ἀλλά τις ἐγγὺς ἰὼν αὐτοσχεδὸν ἔγχεϊ μακρῷ
ἢ ξίφει οὐτάζων δήϊον ἀνδρ' ἑλέτω.

* * * *

ὑμεῖς δ', ὦ γυμνῆτες, ὑπ' ἀσπίδος ἀλλόθεν ἄλλος
πτώσσοντες μεγάλοις βάλλετε χερμαδίοις,
δούρασί τε ξεστοῖσιν ἀκοντίζοντες ἐς αὐτούς,
τοῖσι πανόπλοισι πλησίον ἱστάμενοι.

The length of the spear, and the excellence of the defensive armour, gave the Greeks an immense advantage over their adversaries. The arrows of the Persians could not pierce the bronze helmets and corslets, their short spears were useless for the thrust against the longer weapon of the Greeks, and, if thrown, left the soldier helpless.

The Persian armour is described vii. 61. The Medes were armed in the same manner, and the Bactrians also. The Sacae had battle-axes, see vii. 62–65.

15. Pausanias, then, could see the Heraeum, which would be about ten stades (one-and-a-quarter mile) from his position, on the left or north-west.

C. 62. 7. We should naturally supply ἐχώρεον with **οἱ Πέρσαι**. But they could not advance beyond their barricade. We must therefore supply ἔστησαν or ἔμενον (18. 4). **τὰ τόξα μετέντες**, 'dropping,' 'throwing aside their bows.'

10. **ὠθισμός**, a close fight, in which man grappled with man, vii. 225. 2 ὑπὲρ τοῦ νεκροῦ τοῦ Λεωνίδεω Περσέων τε καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ὠθισμὸς ἐγένετο πολλός. Tyrtaeus, *l. c.* l. 31, describes the ὠθισμός :—

καὶ πόδα παρ ποδὶ θείς, καὶ ἐπ' ἀσπίδος ἀσπίδ' ἐρείσας,
ἐν δὲ λόφον τε λόφῳ, καὶ κυνέην κυνέῃ
καὶ στέρνον στέρνῳ πεπλημένος ἀνδρὶ μαχέσθω.

τὰ δόρατα, the spears of the Spartans.

12. **ἄνοπλοι**. This does not agree with viii. 113, where Mardonius is said to have chosen 'the corslet-wearers of the Persians.'

The corslet (*θώρηξ*) was of scale armour, and in the case of Masistius proved a very efficient protection (cf. vii. 61. 4, where the Persian armour is described, and supr. c. 22). Herodotus seems to have forgotten the existence of this piece of defensive armour (cf. 63. 10). Wesseling proposed to translate *ἄνοπλοι*, 'without shields.' Stein calls attention to the remarkable fact that the Persian horse, which have been so active, all at once disappear from the scene, and take no part in the battle, though they help to protect the fugitives (infr. 68. 5). This inaction is due to the nature of the ground on which the Persians and Lacedaemonians were engaged.

14. **σοφίην**, 'skill.' The Spartans advanced in a firm line (*τηροῦντες τὸν συνασπισμόν* Plut. *l. c. supr.*) which the Persians endeavoured in vain to break. They had little chance of success against a compact body of 5000 of the best and bravest troops then in the world.

C. 63. 4. **χιλίους**. In viii. 113 Mardonius selects 1000 horse, separately from the rest of the cavalry. This troop may be meant here, but it is remarkable that Herodotus does not mention the fact that they had dismounted, while calling attention to the horse of Mardonius.

C. 64. 2. When Xerxes was in Thessaly, on his return from Salamis, the Lacedaemonians, who had been bidden to do so by an oracle from Delphi, sent to him and demanded reparation for the death of Leonidas. Xerxes smiled at the request, and after a pause pointed to Mardonius, who was standing by, and said: 'Mardonius here shall make such reparation as will satisfy you,' viii. 114.

6. **κατύπερθε**, i. e. from Anaxandridas to Heracles, cf. vii. 204. **ἐς Λεωνίδην**, 'down to and including Leonidas,' who was the elder brother of Cleombrotus. See supr. 10. 5.

8. **Ἀριμνήστου**. So Plutarch, Arist. c. 19, calls him. A variant is Aeimnestus; perhaps the change was due to the man's memorable achievement. According to Plutarch, Mardonius was struck on the head with a stone, as had been foretold to him by the oracle of Amphiaraus.

10. In the so-called third Messenian war. The number 300 is a favourite one in Greek history. Above, c. 21. 17, we have 300 chosen Athenians, below, c. 67. 6, 300 Thebans are slain. In viii. 124 we have 300 chosen Spartans; 300 Spartans fall at Thermopylae; 300 Athenians form a council to decide on the 'Accursed' (Plutarch), etc. See note on the recurrence of a space of ten days, supr. 9. 3.

C. 65. 2. **οὐδένα κόσμον**, 'in disorder.' The accusative (infr. 66. 15, etc.) as with *τρόπον*, etc.

3. The camp and the *τεῖχος* are both mentioned, because the

τεῖχος was but a small part of the στρατόπεδον, see c. 15. 13 ff., not because they were situated in different places.

6. τε, 'but' (after the negative οὐδὲ εἷς).

9. τὸ . . . ἀνάκτορον. This word is not unfrequently used of the temple of Demeter and Core at Eleusis by other writers, but not in any other passage of Herodotus. It could be spared here. Of the burning of this temple by the Persians Herodotus tells us nothing.

C. 66. 2. αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχάς, 'at the very first.'

3. καὶ τότε, in the consultation, c. 41.

8. Originally he had 60,000 to escort Xerxes, but many perished at Potidaea (viii. 126 ff.).

10. κατηρτημένως, 'with careful preparation.'

11. They were to go in whatever direction he led, and to be not less rapid in their movements. The construction ὅκως σπουδῆς ἔχοντα is like ὡς ὀργῆς ἔχω, etc.

14. καὶ δή, almost = ἤδη; but in 67. 1 καὶ δὴ οὗτοι is = 'and so these.'

15. τὸν αὐτὸν κόσμον, i. e. κατηρτημένως. The acc. as 65. 2.

17. ἐς Φωκέας, in order to gain the pass of Thermopylae.

C. 67. 9. The Persians fled to the camp and fortress. The Boeotians at once made for Thebes.

καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων. Cf. infr. 115 ult. συνῆσαν δὲ Πέρσαι τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων συχνὸς ὅμιλος. Owing to the retirement of the Greek centre to the Heraeum, a large portion of the Persian army did not come into contact with any enemy whatever. But seeing the Persians routed, they also fled.

C. 68. 1. δηλοῖ, impersonal.

2. εἰ καί, 'since,' 100. 7; 'siquidem, quando, as i. 60. 14; infr. 100. 7 when a single instance is cited as a proof of a general statement. Similarly —εἰ . . . γε vii. 46. 9; and simple εἰ i. 129. 11, v. 97. 14.' Stein on v. 78. 3.

6. τοσαῦτα, to this extent, i. e. it kept close to the enemy and protected the fugitives.

C. 69. 1. φόβῳ = φυγῇ or 'rout,' the Homeric meaning of the word. The clause means: when this rout began.

5. οἱ ἀμφὶ Κορινθίους, cf. 57. 13. The Corinthians naturally hastened to rejoin the Lacedaemonians and Tegeatae, to whom they stood next in the array (28. 9). They therefore took the nearest route to the temple of Demeter, which was the centre of the fight. The Megarians and Phliasians dashed into the plain, expecting to find the Athenians there.

10. ἀπιδόντες, 'seeing at a distance,' viii. 37. 2 ἀπώρεον τὸ ἱρόν

of the Persians while still at some distance from Delphi, supr. 23. 9.

16. **ἐς τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα,** till they reached Cithaeron, where the horse could pursue no longer.

3. **ἐφράξαντο,** 'strengthened,' lit. 'packed' (with baggage or anything); viii. 51 *φραξάμενοι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν θύρῃσί τε καὶ ξύλοισι.* **C. 70.**

4. **προσελθόντων κ.τ.λ.,** 8 **ὡς δέ σφι Ἀθηναῖοι προσῆλθον κ.τ.λ.** The text is certainly careless, to say the least. We are told (1) that when the Lacedaemonians came up, there was a vigorous wall-fight (*ἐρρωμενεστέρη τειχομαχίη*), and for this the reason given is that the Lacedaemonians did not know how to storm a wall, so that the Persians were able to resist with advantage. Then (2) we are told that when the Athenians came up, there was a tough wall-fight which went on for a long time. The language also is much the same in both clauses. Stein takes the second clause to be a repetition of the first, and proposes *προσελθόντων δὲ τῶν* **Ἀθηναίων,** which certainly diminishes the difficulty, and at the same time gives a sense to the comparative in *ἐρρωμενεστέρη* ('more vigorous' than before their arrival), which otherwise we must compare with *σχολαίτερα ἐποίεον* (6. 4).

17. The famous temple of Athena Alea was a national shrine of the Arcadians. In it were suspended the hide and tusks of the Calydonian boar and the fetters taken from the Spartans (Herod. i. 66. 21). Cf. Paus. viii. 47, 48 for a description of it.

20. **ἀλύκταξον,** 'were frenzied,' 'at their wits' end.' This word occurs nowhere else, but we find *ἀλυκταίνειν ἀλύσσειν,* etc. (Cf. *λύσσα,* 'frenzy.')

21. Three reasons are given for their distress: (1) their panic; (2) their numbers; (3) the want of space.

23. Herodotus speaks as if the numbers of Mardonius were intact, with the exception of those whom Artabazus led away. But Artabazus had lost about 20,000 (cf. supr. 32. 12). Diodorus, xi. 32, puts the loss at Plataea at more than ten Myriads.

26. Nothing is said of the loss of the light armed among the Greeks, or of the Laconians, or of the 600 Megarians and Phliasians. Plut. Arist. 10 puts the total Greek loss at 1360.

2. **ἀνήρ,** sc. *ἄριστος γενέσθαι.* **C. 71.**

3. **Ἑλλήνων** is a partitive genitive, with *Λακεδαιμόνιοι.*

4. **ἄλλῳ μὲν οὐδενί κ.τ.λ.,** 'by no other indication can I point this conclusion, except (but) that.' **ἀποσημήνασθαι** = 'to furnish, provide a proof or indication of a fact.'

6. **κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρότατον,** i. e. opposite the Persians, on whom depended the barbarian cause, c. 68. 2.

9. **κατὰ γνώμας τὰς ἡμετέρας.** Herodotus implies that the judgment of his day was not in agreement with the decision given at the time (l. 13 by *οἱ παραγενόμενοι* **Σπαρτιητέων**).

10. Cf. vii. 231, where the same expression is used of Aristodemus, and explained thus: 'No one would supply him with fire, or speak to him, and he was known by the name of the "coward Aristodemus"' (*ὁ τρέσας* **Ἀριστόδημος**). Yet his absence from the battle was due to severe ophthalmia. Towards the end of the century the Spartans were less severe; cf. the account of the treatment of the captives recovered from Sphacteria in Thuc. v. 34.

12. **Σπαρτιῆται** is a correction for *ὁ* **Σπαρτιήτης**, which would imply that Amompharetus alone was a Spartan, a statement inconsistent with 85. 5, where we are told that Posidonius, Philocyon, Amompharetus, and Callicrates (c. 72) were all Irenes, i.e. Spartans between twenty and thirty years of age. **ὅς**=*ὅστις*, as in 54. 9 *τὸ*=*ὅ τι*.

19. **φθόνῳ**, out of ill-will to Aristodemus. They might wish to justify their harsh treatment of him, by depreciating his merit.

21. **τίμιοι**, i. e. they received funeral honours, a tomb, and perhaps worship as 'heroes.' Cf. Tyrtaeus, Frag. 7. 27

Τὸν δ' ὀλοφύρονται μὲν ὁμῶς νέοι ἠδὲ γερόντες,
ἀργαλέῳ τε πόθῳ πᾶσα κέκηδε πόλις·
καὶ τύμβος καὶ παῖδες ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀρίσημοι
καὶ παίδων παῖδες καὶ γένος ἐξοπίσω.
οὐδέ ποτε κλέος ἐσθλὸν ἀπόλλυται οὐδ' ὄνομ' αὐτοῦ,
ἀλλ' ὑπὸ γῆς περ ἐὼν γίγνεται ἀθάνατος,
ὅντιν' ἀριστεύοντα μένοντά τε μαρνάμενόν τε
γῆς περὶ καὶ παίδων θοῦρος Ἄρης ὀλέσῃ.

C. 72. 2. The text reminds us of the Homeric lines, Il. ii. 673

Νιρεὺς δς κάλλιστος ἀνὴρ ὑπὸ Ἴλιον ἦλθεν
τῶν ἄλλων Δαναῶν κ.τ.λ.

6. **ἐσφαγιάζετο**, before the battle began, cf. 61. 14. **κατήμενος ἐν τάξι**, 'remaining quietly in the rank.' For this sense of *κατήμενος* cf. 56. 3.

8. **ἐδυσθανάτεε**, 'took his death ill.'

10 ff. Compare with this the following passage from Cromwell's letter to Col. Walton, July 5, 1644 (after the battle of Marston Moor), on the death of young Walton: 'A little after he said: One thing lay upon his spirit. I asked him, what that was. He told me it was that God had not suffered him to be any more the executioner of his enemies.'

10. **οὐκ ἐχρήσατο χειρί.** Soph. Aj. 115 *χρῶ χειρί, φείδου μηδὲν ὥνπερ ἐννοεῖς.*

2. **ἐών** is a correction for **ἐκ**, cf. 74 init. *τούτου τοῦ δήμου* **C. 73.** *ἐών*.

5. **κατὰ Ἑλένης κομιδήν**, 'to recover Helen,' who had been stolen away by Theseus and Pirithous from Therapne (near Sparta), when dancing at a festival of Artemis Orthia. As Helen was quite a child at the time, Theseus placed her with his mother Aethra at Aphidnae, till she should be of age for marriage. But in his absence the Dioscuri came and carried her home. The legend is supposed to have arisen out of the worship of the Spartan Dioscuri at Aphidnae.

9. The 'insolence' of Theseus here refers to his conduct in regard to Helen, and the fears of Decelus were lest the Dioscuri should lay waste the whole of Attica. We need not think of the 'Synoecismus' of the country by Theseus (Thuc. ii. 15).

12. **Τίτακος**, the hero of the deme Titacidae, which must have been in the neighbourhood of Aphidnae. **αὐτόχθων**, and therefore like Decelus, alarmed for his country.

14. **ἀτελείη**, 'freedom from any burdens,' which might fall on foreigners at Sparta. **προεδρίη** = 'a select place at festivals, games,' etc. These were the usual marks of honour granted by a State to any alien who had shown them kindness.

15. **ἐς τὸν πόλεμον** = 'down to the war and into it' (cf. 64. 6). Invasions of Attica took place in 431 B. C., 430, 428 under Archidamus, 427 under Cleomenes, 425 under Agis. Of these the first fell especially on the neighbourhood of Decelea (the demes between Parnes and Brilessus, Thuc. ii. 23). Had Herodotus lived to see the occupation of Decelea by Agis in 413 B. C. he could hardly have passed it over here.

2. **διξοὺς λόγους λεγομένους ἔχει**, 'has two stories told about **C. 74.** him.' For another meaning of *λόγον ἔχει* see 78. 3, 79. 14.

3. **ἐκ** with **δεδεμένην**.

8. **ἐκπίπτοντες ἐκ τῆς τάξιος**, 'dashing forwards out of their ranks.' Sophanes succeeded by his device in preventing the enemy from driving him back by a sudden onset. Perhaps we may compare Soph. Aj. 775 *καθ' ἡμᾶς οὔποτ' ἐκρήξει μάχη*. The sense of 'retiring' is expressed by **ἐκλείπειν τὴν τάξιν**.

9. **ἐδέδοκτο**, 'it was his custom.'

10. Observe the careless repetition, **λόγων**, **λεχθέντι**, **λέγεται** (cf. c. 84 of Mardonius, and supr. 20. 2).

11. This description of the shield seems to mean that Sophanes never allowed it to remain still. So Hector in Hom. Iliad vii. 238 *οἷδ' ἐπὶ δεξιά, οἷδ' ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ νωμῆσαι βῶν*.

3. Cf. vi. 92, where we are told that Eurybates slew three men **C. 75.**

in single combat, in which he had peculiar skill, but was then slain by Sophanes. The event is placed by Stein between 490 and 480 B. C.

7. Drabescus, not Datus, was the scene of the engagement, which took place in 465 B. C. (Thuc. iv. 102).

C. 76. 1. **κατέστρωντο.** The same picturesque word occurs in 69. 15 and elsewhere; cf. *κατέβαλλον, κατήραξαν.*

4. Pharandates was the nephew of Darius, whose sister Teispes married (iv. 43), and brother of the Sataspes, whom Cambyses put to death (*ibid.*). In vii. 79 we are told that he was in command of the Marians and Colchians. Whether these troops remained behind with Mardonius we do not know: they are not specially mentioned. But Pharandates may have remained, in another capacity, without the troops assigned to him. So also Masistius is placed (*loc. cit.*) over the Alarodians and Saspirians, of whom we hear nothing at Plataea.

6. **τῶν παρεουσέων,** sc. *ἐσθήτων.*

7. **ἁρμαμάξῃ,** a vehicle suitable for women, but also used by Xerxes as a change from the *ἅρμα*, vii. 41. 3. Cf. Aristoph. Acharn. 70 *ἐφ' ἁρμαμαξῶν μαλθακῶς κατακείμενοι* of the luxurious envoys. The *ἅμαξα* of c. 25. 4, 80. 7 is a cart.

11. **ἔγνω,** 'recognized.' By what she knew previously, she perceived the man to be Pausanias.

12. Pausanias was not, of course, king of Sparta, but merely regent for Plistarchus.

14. The words *δαίμονες καὶ θεοί* include all supernatural beings of whatever order. Cf. Demosth. Ol. 2. 1 *δαιμονίᾳ τινὶ καὶ θείᾳ εὐεργεσίᾳ. ὅπιν,* 'reverence for,' not 'vengeance of.'

16. The island of Cos was at this time a part of the kingdom of Artemisia of Halicarnassus (vii. 99. 10).

20. **ξεῖνος μάλιστα τυγχάνει ἐών.** Cf. Soph. El. 46 *μέγιστος τυγχάνει δορυξένων.*

21. We learn from Xen. Rep. Lac. 13. 5 that it was the custom for two of the five ephors to be present in the Spartan army with the king when in the field (*πάρεισι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐφόρων δύο, οἳ πολυπραγμονοῦσι μὲν οὐδέν, ἢν μὴ ὁ βασιλεὺς προσκαλῇ· ὁρῶντες δὲ ὅ τι ποιεῖ ἕκαστος πάντας σωφρονίζουσιν, ὡς τὸ εἰκός.* Yet we hear nothing of them in the altercation with Amompharetus!). This is the first notice which we have of their presence. Nothing is said of them at Thermopylae, or in the various expeditions of Cleomenes. Perhaps when the rule was made that both kings should not go out on the same expedition from Sparta (in consequence of the disagreement of Cleomenes and Demaratus), the ephors were added in the place of the second king.

C. 77. 1. **μετὰ δὲ . . . μετὰ ταῦτα.** For the pleonasm see supr. 17. 6 and note.

2. **ἐπ' ἐξεργασμένοισι,** i. e. 'when it was too late.' Cf. Soph. Aj. 377 *τί δῆτ' ἂν ἀλγοίης ἐπ' ἐξειργασμένοις;*

4. **σφέας ζημιῶσαι,** 'that some one should punish them.'

6. **ἐδίωκον,** 'wished to pursue.' See note on *κατελάμβανον* 2. 2. The Spartans were opposed to the pursuit of enemies (which threw their lines into disorder), and in this case the number of the Mantineans would have been quite unable to deal with the 40,000 men under Artabazus.

8. **ἐδίωξαν,** 'banished.'

9. Though too late for the battle, the Eleans were able to secure a place among the nations inscribed on the offerings at Delphi and Olympia (81. 2 and 4).

C. 78. 2. Pindar mentions a Lampon of Aegina, the son of Cleonicus, and father of Pytheas and Phylacidas. The Lampon of the text was doubtless a kinsman of that family (the Phylacidae). The name Lampon is common enough (cc. 21. 90). **ἐών** is not in the MSS.

3. **ἴετο . . . ἀπικόμενος σπουδῇ.** The words indicate the eagerness of the man on his evil errand.

5. **μέγαθός τε καὶ κάλλος.** The phrase is elsewhere used only of bodily beauty (as in 25. 6, 96. 13).

8. **τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοισι,** 'to complete this,' put upon it, as it were.

12. **ἀνεσταύρωσαν,** 'crucified the body,' vii. 238.

13, 14. **τὴν ὁμοίην,** sc. *μοῖραν.* **ὑπὸ . . . πρός.** There is little or no difference of meaning, except that *ὑπό* implies more immediate agency.

15. **ἀνασκολοπίσαι** is 'to impale,' but perhaps the word is intended to be = *ἀνασταυρῶσαι.* **ἐς πάτρων.** The preposition is remarkable. Commentators quote such expressions as *ὑβρίζειν εἴς τινα, παρανομεῖν εἴς τινα.* For *πάτρων* see 10. 5 note.

C. 79. 4. **πάτρην.** Perhaps 'lineage,' rather than 'father-land' (as elsewhere in Herod.). But Lampon had said nothing about either.

5. **ἄμεινον ἀκούσεσθαι,** 'melius auditurum esse,' infr. 107. 10.

7. **ἐκείνοισι,** sc. *ταῦτα ποιέουσι.*

8. **τούτου εἵνεκα,** 'so far as this is concerned.' Cf. Dem. Ol. 3. 14 *ψηφισμάτων ἕνεκα.*

9. **μοι . . . ὀρεσκόμενον . . . ποιέειν.** Cf. 78. 6 *τοι ῥυσάμενον . . . καταθέσθαι.* The accusative goes with the infinitive, and the two make as it were a clause separate from the dative: 'it is enough for me that I,' etc. This is the normal construction when the idea expressed by the participle is closely joined with the infinitive.

11. **μεγάλως,** 'splendidly,' 'amply.' Cf. 16. 3.

14. **ἔχων λόγον,** 'with a proposal,' contrast with 78. 8, and cf. supr. 74. 3.

15. **χάριν ἴσθι,** 'be thankful' (**ἴσθι** is of course from **οἶδα**).

C. 80. 6. **κρητήρ,** a large bowl, for mixing wine and water, etc.; **φιάλη,** a shallow vessel, for drinking, not unlike a 'saucer.'

8. **λέβητες.** As these were made of gold and silver, we must suppose that the **λέβης** here is a basin for washing, etc., as it is in the *Odyssey*. In the *Iliad* the **λέβης** is used for cooking. In Herod. vi. 58 the Spartan women use **λέβητες** as a kind of drum.

9. **κειμένων,** on 'the field of battle.' **ψέλιά τε καὶ στρεπτούς.** Cf. viii. 113. 16 where Mardonius chooses the Persians, *ἄνδρας στρεπτοφόρους τε καὶ ψελιοφόρους*.

10. **τοὺς ἀκινάκας.** The Persian sword or scimitar (hence the article), vii. 54. 4. It was about a foot in length, and broad for the length. The handles, etc., of the swords were of gold, not of course the blades.

13. **ἀπεδείκνυσαν,** 'gave in,' 'returned.' Cf. viii. 35. 8 *ὅκως βασιλέϊ Ξέρξῃ ἀποδέξαιεν τὰ χρήματα*.

14. **οἱ μεγάλοι πλοῦτοι.** Observe the plural and the article. But the wealth of Aegina belongs to a period one or even two centuries earlier than the battle of Plataea, and was due more especially to trade with the East. With the growth of the Western trade, in which she was less successful, and the rise of the Athenian power, Aegina began to decline.

16. **χαλκόν,** 'bronze.' Aegina was famous for her bronze, which came next to the Delian; illo aere (the Delian) Myron usus est, hoc Polycletus (Pliny, Hist. Nat. xxxiv. 10).

C. 81. 1. **δεκάτην ἐξελόντες,** l. 5 **ἐξελόντες,** l. 7 **ταῦτα ἐξελόντες.** One-tenth only was put aside, from which three offerings were set up, (1) at Delphi, (2) at Olympia, (3) at the Isthmus.

The offering at Delphi consisted of a golden tripod resting on a bronze support. The support was not, as Herodotus supposes, one serpent with three heads, but three serpents intertwined. Whether the three heads supported an entire tripod of gold, or only a golden bowl (the heads being the **τρίπους**) it is impossible to say. Pausanias, in the first instance, inscribed on the offering the following epigram:—

Ἑλλήνων ἀρχηγὸς ἐπεὶ στρατὸν ὤλεσε Μήδων
Παυσανίας Φοίβῳ μνῆμ' ἀνέθηκε τόδε,

but this inscription was removed by the Spartans and replaced with the names of those who had aided in defeating the Persians and setting up the offering (Thuc. i. 132, iii. 57; Herod. viii. 82). The golden bowl was destroyed by the Phocians in the fourth century

(Paus. x. 13. 9), but the bronze pediment remained in its place near the great altar at Delphi in the time of Pausanias (the traveller). It was subsequently removed by Constantine to Constantinople, and set up in the Hippodrome. There it still remains. The necks of the serpents have been broken off, and about half of the whole is beneath the present level of the soil. The entire height is about 18 ft. The inscription contains thirty-one names, with the dedication (two lines), making in all thirty-three lines, which are engraved on eleven of the coils (3–13 from the foot). It is written in the Laconian alphabet. See Röhl, *Inscripp. Gr. Ant.* p. 28; Dittenberger, *Sylloge.* No. 1; Rawlinson, notes *ad loc.*

5. Pausanias, v. 23, gives an account of the statue at Olympia. It was placed so that it fronted the rising sun. He informs us that on the base of it were written the names of those who *took a part in the battle of Plataea*, but the Eretrians, Leucadians, and Thespians are omitted in his copy of the list, as well as the Palaeans (who are also omitted on the tripod). On the other hand the islanders, the Naxians, Tenians, Ceans, Melians, Cythnians, who are mentioned in both lists (the tripod and the Olympian statue) were not at Plataea. Rawlinson compares the lists at length in an excursus, vol. iv. p. 467 ff.

12. **καὶ τούτοισι**, these, as well as Pausanias.

14. **τάλαντα**, perhaps coined money is meant. **κάμηλοι**, nothing whatever has been said of these animals in the account of the battle. Some may have been found with the baggage.

6. **καθώς** is doubtful both as to usage and form, for in Hero- **C. 82.**
dotus, we should not expect the aspirate. The word is not needed at all; *κατὰ ταὐτά* can take a dative, but *καί* might also be added (i. e. *κατὰ ταὐτὰ καὶ* Μαρδονίῳ) and *καθώς* is probably a gloss in the style of later Greek on this. Athenaeus in his quotation of this passage (p. 138) has *καθώς*.

9. **χρυσέας κ.τ.λ.** Above he had spoken more accurately, *ἐπιχρύσους*, etc. (80. 5). **εὖ ἐστρωμένας**, 'with costly coverings.'

13. **θοίνης**, a poetical word. So *ἄτρυτον* supr. 52. 2 and many others; cf. Appendix ii. Compare i. 126 where Cyrus entertains the Persians in two very different ways on two successive days, and then asks their opinions; *οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν πολλὸν εἶναι αὐτῶν τὸ μέσον.*

2. **ὑστέρῳ . . . χρημάτων.** This clause is a pendant to the **C. 83.**
account of the collection of the spoil at Plataea, in which c. 82 forms merely an episode.

5. It seems from this that the Persian dead were allowed to lie unburied on the field, till the flesh decayed from the bones. For similar remarks see iii. 12.

8. **ῥαφήν**, 'suture.' Bähr discusses the physiology of these observations in a long note.

9. For **καὶ τὸ ἄνω** Stein reads *κατὰ τὸ ἄνω*, which of course makes **τῆς γνάθου** intolerable. But the words *καὶ . . . γνάθου* are a somewhat awkward correction of *γνάθος*, which might either mean the upper or the lower jaw.

ὀδόντας = *προσθίους*, 'incisors.' It is not an uncommon thing to find two or three teeth grown together.

C. 84. 1. Whether there is a lacuna in the text, or whether it was left imperfect by the author it is impossible to say, but the want of connection is apparent. There is nothing to answer to **ἐπείτε δέ**, but from **εἰπεῖν** onward we have a parenthesis, which extends to the end of the chapter. What happened when the corpse of Mardonius could not be found on the day after the battle we are not told. Nor is it clear how this chapter agrees with the opening words in the next: 'He (Mardonius) was buried in this manner.' In what manner? Did the author originally write an account of the burial of Mardonius, and then insert in the place of it what we now have?—If we *must* find an apodosis to **ἐπείτε δέ** it is, of course, **ἔχει δέ τινα φάτιν** l. 9. The grave of Mardonius was seen by Pausanias on the right of the way from Eleutherae to Plataea (ix. 2. 2). We may assume that search was made for the body of Mardonius, from the treatment of the corpse of Masistius, and the proposal of Lampon.

C. 85. 5. **τοὺς ἰρένας**, the Spartans between twenty and thirty were so called. The MSS. have *ἰρέας*.

8. Nothing is said of the burial of the Lacedaemonians who were not Spartans. It is also remarkable that Amompharetus should be placed among the Irenes. For a Spartan did not become a citizen in the full sense of the word till he attained the age of thirty years (and the Irenes were under thirty); yet we find Amompharetus in independent command of a lochus, and as such entitled to give his vote in the Lacedaemonian council of war. Nor is it likely that an Iren would venture to resist the order of Pausanias to retreat.

12. **πλήρεες**, i. e. had corpses in them.

13. **τῶν δὲ ἄλλων**, sc. *Ἑλλήνων*. The sentence would have been more regular if expressed thus: *τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους, ὅσων . . . τούτους δέ* (i. e. the Greeks).

17. The Aeginetans formed part of the centre, which had retired from the battle-field to the Heraeum.

20. **πρόξεινον**, i. e. he looked after their interests at Plataea. A proxenus is often compared with an English consul, with the

difference that the proxenus was always a citizen of the city in which he resided.

4. Timagenidas had advised Mardonius to seize the pass of Dryoscephalae; Attaginus had given the sumptuous banquet to the Persians and Medizing Greeks at Thebes. C. 86.

5. At a later time, when the Thebans wished to excuse the part which they had taken in the Persian war, they asserted that the government at the time of the war was neither 'an oligarchy with equal laws (*ἰσόνομος*) nor a democracy, but the power was in the hands of a dynasty, composed of a few persons, a constitution which very closely resembles a tyranny' (*δυναστεία ὀλίγων εἶχε τὰ πράγματα*). That is, the public affairs were managed by a few leading families in their own interests. (Thuc. iii. 62.)

4. **μὴ πρότερον . . . ἢ ἐξέλωσι.** Cf. infr. 93. 28, 117. 5. C. 87.

7. **ἀναπλήσῃ.** A Homeric expression (c. 52. 7). Supply *κακά* (v. 4. 7). **πρόσχημα**, as a pretext. Cf. *πρόφασιν*, *ἐπίκλησιν*, etc.

8. **ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ**, 'from the public funds,' i. e. the whole state was to furnish the money. We need not suppose the existence of a special public treasury.

9. **σὺν τῷ κοίνῳ**, i. e. the whole state joined in the support given to the Medes. *τὸ κοινόν* with a genitive is a common expression for the Athenian, Spartan state, see infr. 117. 5.

2. **παῖδας.** We should expect *τοὺς παῖδας*, but cf. viii. 4. 8 *ἔστ' ἂν αὐτοὶ τέκνα τε καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας ὑπεκθέωνται.* In the next line *παῖδας* may perhaps be translated 'children,' rather than 'his children.' 'Medism' was a matter for grown up men. But the article is often omitted with *παῖδας*. C. 88.

4. **τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους**, the accusative is due to the attraction of the relative *τοὺς ἐξέδοσαν*.

5. **ἀντιλογίης κυρήσειν**, i. e. would obtain a trial, and an opportunity of disproving the charge or explaining it. But their chief hope lay in bribery (*ἐπεποίθεσαν*).

7. **αὐτὰ ταῦτα**, that they would resort to bribery.

9. **Κόρινθον**, i. e. to the Isthmus, whence the army had started on its way to Plataea. Here therefore Herodotus leaves the Greek army. The later history is continued by Thucydides, i. 89 ff.

10. To the Phocians—to whom in the first instance he directed his retreat, supr. c. 66. 17. C. 89.

14. **κατά τι πρῆγμα**, 'on some errand.'

15. **οὗτος**, 'here.' He speaks as if Mardonius and his army were just behind.

17. 'For a time will come when you will not repent of it,'

lit. 'hereafter.' Cf. vii. 29. 16 *οὔτε ἐς τὸ παρέον οὔτε ἐς χρόνον μεταμελήσει.*

20. **τὴν μεσόγαιαν τάμνων τῆς ὁδοῦ.** The same expression occurs vii. 124. 4, and in iv. 12. 12 we have *ἐς μεσόγαιαν τῆς ὁδοῦ τραφθέντες. τάμνειν* (cf. *συντάμνειν*) gives the idea of taking the shortest way; and *τὴν μεσόγαιαν* implies that the road was by land. Trans. 'taking the shortest route through the interior.'

23. **συστάντας,** 'prostrated with,' lit. 'in close conflict with.'

C. 90. For the movements of the Greek fleet up to this point see viii. 131. With the spring 110 ships assembled at Aegina, under the command of Leotychidas, the Spartan king. Here they were visited by envoys from Ionia who besought them to cross the Aegean and liberate the Ionic cities. With a good deal of difficulty the envoys induced the fleet to proceed as far as Delos. 'But the sea beyond was full of alarms to the Greeks who were not acquainted with the localities, and imagined every part to be occupied by armed forces; they thought of Samos as not less distant than the pillars of Heracles! And so it came about that the barbarians would not venture to sail to the west of Samos, from fear of the Greeks, and the Greeks, in spite of the entreaties of the Chians, would not sail to the east of Delos.'

1. **οὗτος** is better than the *v. l. αὐτός*, for Artabazus did not return *alone* to Asia, as *αὐτός* would imply. **τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρης.** This may have been the case, but the Greeks were fond of synchronisms, as giving more point and significance to historical events. The battles of Salamis and Himera were said to have been fought on the same day, viii. 166. 2.

9. Theomestor was a Samian who had distinguished himself in the service of Xerxes at Salamis. For this he was made 'tyrant' of Samos (towards the end of 480 B.C.), viii. 85. 10.

15. 'They (*αὐτούς* = the Greek fleet) would never find such another capture.'

18. **αὐτῶν,** i. e. of the Persian fleet.

19. **αὐτοί,** i. e. the envoys.

C. 91. 1. **πολλός,** 'urgent,' as often.

2. **κληδόνος εἵνεκεν.** 'Ominis causa,' 'ut ex responso caperet omen,' Schweigh. Lex. *s. v.*

3. **εἴτε κατὰ . . . ποιεῦντος,** 'or by an accident, divinely brought about.'

6. **τὸν Ἡγησιστράτου.** The word Hegesistratus is here taken in its literal sense = 'leader of the army.' Whatever truth there may be in the story, the significance of names was very impressive to the Greek mind. Prometheus, Pentheus, Polynices, Ajax—all

these names are made (by the dramatists) to furnish a meaning bearing upon the fate of the men who bore them. See also Cleomenes' remark to Crius (Ram) of Aegina, whom he bids 'get his horns tipped,' vi. 50. 13.

C. 92. 1. **τὸ ἔργον προσῆγε**, sc. *τῷ λόγῳ*.

4. **οἱ μέν**, sc. the two envoys, Lampon and Athenagoras.

C. 93. 3. **Ἀπολλωνιήτεω, Ἀπολλωνίης δέ**, cf. supr. 73. 3. The definition is of course added to distinguish this Apollonia from other towns of the same name.

4. **ἐκέλευε**, i. e. Leotychidas.

6. **πρόβατα**, 'sheep.' Stein quotes Hymn. Apoll. 412

Ταίναρον, ἔνθα τε μῆλα βαθύτριχα βόσκεται αἰεὶ
Ἠελίοιο ἄνακτος.

In Hom. Od. xii. 128 there are seven herds of oxen and seven flocks of sheep belonging to the sun in Thrinakia, each herd and flock consisting of fifty head. **παρὰ ποταμόν**. Stein inserts **Χῶνα** before *ποταμόν*. It is remarkable that Herodotus should have omitted the name, but the emendation is not certain. The only river which really flows from Lacmon through Apollonia is the Aous.

14. **κατακοιμήσαντος τὴν φυλακήν**, 'having gone to sleep on the watch.' See infr. l. 16.

16. **ἐπήισε** from *ἐπαΐω*.

22. Cf. Soph. O. T. 25

φθίνουσα μὲν κάλυξιν ἐγκάρποις χθονός,
φθίνουσα δ' ἀγέλαις βουνόμοις·

and Herod. iii. 65. 37, vi. 139. 2.

24. The words from **ἔπειτα** to **ἔφραζον** are best omitted, though by altering *ἔπειτα* to *ἐπεί τε* it is possible to keep part of the sentence *ἐπεί τε ἐπειρώτων τὸ αἴτιον τοῦ παρεόντος κακοῦ*. There was only one *προφήτης* at Delphi (viii. 36 ult.), and at Dodona the responses were given by women (*αἱ προμάντιες* ii. 55).

27. **αὐτοί**, the gods of the shrines consulted, Zeus and Apollo.

30. **δικαιοῖ**, i. e. thinks it right that he shall have. **τελεομένων**, we should expect the aorist, 'had been accomplished.'

31. **τὴν πολλοὺς μακαριεῖν**, see note on *ἔνθα* supr. 41. 10, and for the form of the future *κατακοντιεῖ* 17. 14.

C. 94. 2. **προέθεσαν τῶν ἀστῶν ἀνδράσι**. Gomperz ingeniously adds *τρίσι*, on the precedents in iv. 68, viii. 135.

5. **ἐς ὃ κατέβαινον συλλυπεύμενοι**, 'till at last they began to express sympathy with him.' 'Ubi agitur de homine qui verba facit, dicitur ille *καταβαίνειν*, *in oratione progredi, pergere, convertere* etc., ad aliud quiddam proferendum,' Schweigh. *ad loc.*

6. **ὑπάγοντες**, 'leading him on,' as if into a trap.

8. **δώσειν** after *ὑποστῆναι*. Cf. supr. 7. 24 note.

14. **εἶναι**, 'that he *would* be,' **ἀποχρᾶν**, 'that it *would* be enough.'

18. **τὸν πάντα λόγον**, 'the whole story.' It was not of course the offer which roused the anger of Evenius, but the circumstances under which it was made.

C. 95. 2. **ἀγόντων Κορινθίων.** Apollonia was a colony of the Corinthians.

3. **ἤδη κ.τ.λ.** Cf. 84. 3.

4. **ἐπιβατεύων**, 'using the name as a footing,' a meaning of the word *ἐπιβατεύω* ('to set foot upon') which occurs several times in Herodotus. **ἐξελάμβανε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἔργα**, 'undertook transactions all over Greece,' i. e. he became a wandering teller of fortunes, one of a class common enough in Greece. For *ἐπί* Schweigh. and Gaisford read *ἐπιών*, following Reiske. *ἀνὰ τὴν* E. would no doubt be more common, but *ἐπί* may perhaps be supported by the Epic use of the word. Stein quotes Od. xvii. 383

> Εἰ μὴ τῶν οἳ δημιοεργοὶ ἔασιν,
> *μάντιν ἢ ἰητῆρα κακῶν ἢ τέκτονα δούρων*
> *ἢ καὶ θέσπιν ἀοιδόν, ὅ κεν τέρπῃσιν ἀείδων·*
> *οὗτοι γὰρ κλητοί γε βροτῶν ἐπ' ἀπείρονα γαῖαν.*

C. 96. 3. It is not known where Calamisa was, but the place must have been on the eastern coast of Samos, on which the Persian fleet lay (viii. 130).

4. **κατὰ τὸ Ἥραιον τὸ ταύτῃ.** This seems to be the famous Heraeum: at least we hear of no other Heraeum in the island of Samos (with *τὸ ταύτῃ* cf. 31. 4 *τὸν ταύτῃ ῥέοντα*).

6. The Persian fleet amounted to 300 sail (viii. *l. c.*).

10. **ὑπό**, 'under the protection of.'

11. **καταλελειμμένος.** They were left behind on the march to Europe. The genitive **τοῦ ἄλλου στρατοῦ** is to be taken with *καταλελειμμένος*.

13. Compare the description of Masistius and Callicrates, 25. 6, 72. 3, and note on 78. 5.

16. Compare what is said about the building of the fortified camp on the Asopus in 15. 10 ff.

C. 97. 3. **τῶν Ποτνιέων**, i. e. either of the Eumenides, or of Demeter and Persephone. The Persians passed by this temple (*παρά*) and came to the Gaeson and Scolopoeis (of the last we know nothing). It is not possible to fix precisely the scene of the battle of Mycale, but the fact that the fugitives escaped over the heights to Sardis and what we hear about the Gaeson (infr.) make it

probable that the engagement took place on the south side of the promontory. The chart published by the Admiralty gives an excellent plan of the straits of Samos, and the adjacent parts of the island and Ionia. Of the Gaeson we are told Athen. 311. e. Ἔφορος ἐν τῇ πέμπτῃ ποταμὸν εἶναί φησι τὸν Γαίσωνα, περὶ Πριήνην, ὃν εἰσρεῖν εἰς λίμνην. If this is meant here, it is strange, as Rawlinson observes, that Herodotus should omit the article and ποταμόν.

5. For the founding of Miletus see i. 146. Mycale is described in i. 148 as τῆς ἠπείρου ἄκρη πρὸς ζέφυρον ἄνεμον κατήκουσα Σάμῳ (towards Samos). The strait is about a mile in breadth.

9. παρεσκευάδατο, pluperf.; just below we have the imperfect. So the aorist and imperfect are interchanged supr. 51. 15. The Persians intended to engage the Greeks, and if unsuccessful to retire to the fortification.

3. ποιέωσι, etc., deliberative conjunctive. **C. 98.**

7. ἀποβάθρας, 'bridges' for landing, 'gangways.'

11. παρακεκριμένον κ.τ.λ., 'explicatis ordinibus in acie stantem secundum littus,' Schweigh. The same expression is used of the Persians ships taking up their position off Salamis, viii. 70. 2.

12. τὰ μάλιστα, not as commonly 'for the most part,' but, 'as much as possible' = ὅτι μάλιστα.

15. The Persian at the banquet of Attaginus could speak Greek (c. 16), but he had passed a winter in Greece. It is however very unlikely that none of the Persians would understand what was said; and the contrary is assumed in l. 23.

17. τινα = 'everyone.'

18. Ἥβης. As the pass-words were generally names of deities which stood in some close local or personal relation to the combatants (Stein); and as in this case the temple of Here would naturally suggest itself, Ἥρης is a probable correction for Ἥβης.

20. For οὗτος we require τούτου, 'the intention of this proceeding (πρήγματος) was the same as,' etc. For the action of Themistocles see viii. 22. He cut inscriptions in the rocks at the springs in the neighbourhood of Artemisium, calling on the Ionians to desert, or at least not to support the Persians vigorously in the battle.

23. ἔπειτα is difficult. It cannot mean 'afterwards' for Leotychidas wished to produce an immediate result, and the meaning 'in that case' after an event which has not happened is irregular. (In viii. 22. 19 we have ἢ ἐπεί τε ἀνενειχθῇ to which the words here bear a curious resemblance.)

24. ἀπίστους, 'distrustful of.' In the parallel passage viii. *l. c.* we have the word in exactly the opposite sense, 'distrusted by.'

C. 99. 1. **ταῦτα ὑποθεμένου**, 'having given this advice.'

7. **ἀπικομένων . . . αἰχμαλώτων.** The genitive absolute is taken up in the accusative *τούτους* (l. 10).

11. Cf. *αἰτίην ἔχειν*, 'to be blamed,' etc.

14. **προστάσσουσι**, sc. the Persians. In vi. 20 we are told that Darius removed the Greek inhabitants of Miletus to Ampa. Either all had not been removed, or other Greeks had been allowed to come in the place of those taken away.

17. **τοῖσι . . . ἐπιλαβομένοισι.** Elsewhere *καταδοκέω* takes the accusative. There is no doubt about the meaning, and the reading is certain. The explanation of the strange construction is probably that suggested by Stein: i. e. that *κατεδόκεον* here follows the analogy of *κατακρίνειν*, vii. 146. 7 *τοῖσι κατακέκριτο θάνατος*. Cf. also the construction of *ὀνειδίζειν*. **ἐπιλαβομένοισι** expresses a condition, 'if they got the power.' Cf. 94. 13 *ἐπήβολος γενόμενος*.

19. **συνεφόρησαν τὰ γέρρα.** Cf. c. 61. 11 note.

C. 100. 1. **παρεσκεύαστο.** The MSS. have *παρεσκευάδατο* (plur.), which Stein retains; but the example which he quotes (*ἕτοιμα ἦν*) is insufficient to support an impersonal plural without an adjective.

2. **ἐσέπτατο**, infr. 101. 14. A poetical expression which reminds us of the *ἔπη πτερόεντα*, etc. of Homer.

4. Cf. Soph. Aj. 998

ὀξεῖα γάρ σου βάξις ὡς θεοῦ τινος
διῆλθ' Ἀχαιούς.

ὧδε, to this effect.

6. **τὰ θεῖα τῶν πρηγμάτων**, 'the divine element in human affairs.'

7. **τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρης κ.τ.λ.** The sentence would be easier if *αὐτῆς* were omitted; but the word is probably genuine. The prominent idea is 'the same day,' which is really expressed twice, once in *αὐτῆς* and again in *συμπιπτούσης*.

C. 101. 1. **καὶ τόδε κ.τ.λ.**, 'and here was another coincidence.'

10. **μηνός**, Metageitnion. Mardonius was at Athens ten months after the battle of Salamis (c. 3), i. e. in Hecatombaeon 479 B.C. (Salamis being fought in Boedromion 480). Between the burning of Athens and the battle of Plataea we may allow a month.

13. **περὶ σφέων αὐτῶν . . . περὶ Μαρδονίῳ.** Both these uses of *περί* are remarkable: *περί* after a word signifying alarm takes the dative; and the usual construction of *πταίειν* is *πρός* with the accusative.

15. **μᾶλλόν τι.** *τι* is intensive, cf. *πολλούς τινας* = 'a good many,' 84. 2. So also *μέρος τι*, 'a considerable portion,' *ὀλίγους τινάς* supr. 16. 20.

18. **προέκειτο**, sing. in spite of *αἱ νῆσοι* preceding.

2. **τούτοισι** is of course 'governed by' *προσεχέσι τεταγμένοισι* C. 102.
which is = *ἐπεξῆς τεταγμένοισι* l. 4. **τῶν ἡμισέων**, 'half the whole body of troops.'

6. **ἔτι** is certainly not required.

7. **ὄρθια** = *ὀρθά*.

13. **φερόμενοι**, 'with a rush.' The conflict is a repetition of that at Plataea, but here the Athenians, etc., are the combatants on the Greek side. Cf. cc. 62, 70.

19. Cf. supr. 70. 20.

20. **κατ' ὀλίγους**, 'in small bands.' Cf. 62. 14 *προεξαΐσσοντες κατ' ἕνα καὶ δέκα καὶ πλεῦνές τε καὶ ἐλάσσονες συστρεφόμενοι*.

23. For Artayntes, Ithamitres, and Mardontes, see viii. 130; for Tigranes, vii. 62. He was the son of Artabanus, viii. 26.

4. If **ἄλλοι τε καὶ Σικυώνιοι** is to remain, the meaning must be: C. 103.
'especially the Sicyonians,' but for this we should expect *τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ Σικυωνίων*. Stein suggests *ἄλλοι τε καὶ Σικυωνίων*.

7. **ἑτεραλκέα**. Cf. viii. 11. 10 *ἑτεραλκέως ἀγωνιζομένους*. The meaning seems to be 'with strength on the other side,' i. e. not going with the side which expected it. The translation 'indecisive' does not give the whole meaning of the word. In Homer the epithet is applied to *νίκη* and *δῆμος*. Monro translates: 'victory of other strength' (i. e. divine strength), and a 'people to gain fresh help from.' See his note on Il. vii. 26.

8. **τοῖς Ἕλλησι**. *προσωφελέειν* should take the accusative; as in 68. 6, but *ὠφελεῖν* often takes a dative in the poets.

1. **ἐκ** is omitted in all the MSS., but without it there is no C. 104.
construction for the genitive **Περσέων**.

2. **τὰς διόδους**. The passes from the shore to the heights of Mycale. Cf. 99. 17.

2. **παγκράτιον ἐπασκήσας**, 'having gone through the course of C. 105.
training for the pancratium.' This apparently implies that he had contended in the Pancratium at Olympia. Cf. 33. 10 *ἀσκέων πεντάεθλον*, and vi. 92, where Eurybates is spoken of as *πεντάεθλον ἐπασκήσας*, and *μουνομαχίην ἐπασκέων*. The statue of Hermolycus could be seen in the acropolis of Athens in the time of Pausanias (i. 23. 10).

5. Thuc. i. 98 *πρὸς δὲ Καρυστίους αὐτοῖς* (the Athenians) *ἄνευ τῶν ἄλλων Εὐβοέων πόλεμος ἐγένετο καὶ χρόνῳ συνέβησαν καθ' ὁμολογίαν*.

7. **ἀναστάσιος**, 'abandoning,' 'removal of the inhabitants from.' C. 106

8. **τῆς Ἑλλάδος**. Herodotus uses the name vaguely: he distinguishes (101. 14 and 17) between Hellas on the one hand and the

islands and the Hellespont on the other (cf. 121, where the Greeks sail from the Hellespont to Hellas), but he does not distinguish always between Hellas as the country inhabited by Hellenes (e. g. Ionia, in which sense Ephesus is in Hellas, i. 92), and Hellas as the name of the peninsula. Hence he adds the description *τῆς αὐτοὶ ἐγκρατέες ἦσαν* (for which phrase cf. viii. 49. 5).

9. **τὴν δὲ Ἰωνίην κ.τ.λ.** The clause is added as a parallel to *κατοικίσαι*. A participle would have been more logical, 'giving up Ionia.'

13. **πρὸς τῶν Περσέων ἀπαλλάξειν**. Cf. i. 16. 7 *ἀπὸ τούτων οὐκ ὡς ἤθελε ἀπήλλαξε*. The preposition *πρός* is due to the combination *χαίροντας ἀπ.* Cf. iii. 65. 25 *αἰσχρὰ πρὸς τῶν Μάγων πεπονθότος*.

15. **ἐξαναστήσαντες**, i. e. 'removing the inhabitants from.' The Peloponnesians treat the Ionians as mere traders, who would be satisfied with any convenient port.

18. **Πελοποννησίους** is due to Schweigh. The MSS. have **Πελοποννησίοισι**, for which there is no construction.

C. 107. 4. Masistes was the son of Darius and Atossa, vii. 82. 7.

6 **γυναικὸς κακίω.** Cf. 20 ult.

10. **πολλὰ ἤκουσε**, 'had endured much abuse' (supr. 79. 6).

15. **προέστησαν**, sc. *Μασίστεω*.

19. **ἦρξε**, 'became ruler of.' The titular appellation of the rulers of Cilicia was Syennesis.

C. 108. 5. **ἐδύνατο**, sc. *ἡ γυνή*, but with **προσέφερε** Xerxes must of course be supplied.

7. **τὼυτὸ δὲ τοῦτο**, i. e. regard for Masistes. **εἶχε**, 'restrained.'

8. **ἐργόμενος τῶν ἄλλων**, 'finding all other ways shut against him.'

9. **τοῦτον**, i. e. *θυγατέρα*, etc., a clause which is in explanatory apposition to *γάμον*.

11. **αὐτήν** is the wife of Masistes.

14. **ἠγάγετο**. The middle is commonly used of the bridegroom taking home his bride.

15. **ὁ δέ** resumes Xerxes. Cf. 110. 3.

C. 109. 1. **ἀνάπυστα**, Homeric. So Od. xi. 274 of the marriage of Oedipus and Jocasta: *ἄφαρ δ' ἀνάπυστα θεοὶ θέσαν ἀνθρώποισι*.

7. **πάντα** with **αἰτήσασαν**. Soph. Ant. 778 *αἰτουμένη που τεύξεται τὸ μὴ θανεῖν*.

8. **ἔδεε**, 'it was appointed,' 'it was fated.' Cf. i. 8. 8 *χρῆν γὰρ Κανδαύλῃ γενέσθαι κακῶς*.

10. **δοκέων αἰτῆσαι.** The aorist inf. is occasionally found with *δοκέω* e. g. viii. 86. 10. But the future is the common tense (cf. 108. 11, 114. 6, etc.), and may be right here.

11. **παντοῖος ἐγίνετο.** Cf. iii. 124. 6, where the phrase is used without any accompanying participle—*παντοίη ἐγίνετο μὴ ἀποδημῆσαι τὸν* **Πολυκράτεα.**

14. **ἐδίδου,** 'offered.'

C. 110. 2. **ἡ δέ,** as supr. 108. 15.

7. Every Persian honoured his birthday above all other days (i. 133), and the king's birthday was a day of general rejoicing (Plato, Alcib. I. p. 121).

10. **σμᾶται.** The word is used of the 'purification' of the Scythians, iv. 73 *σμησάμενοι τὰς κεφαλὰς καὶ ἐκπλυνάμενοι.* The precise meaning here is unknown. Stein supposes that on this occasion the king laid aside his tiara, and was seen with his hair dressed and perfumed. For the context cf. Esther ii. 18, 'Then the king made a great feast unto all his princes and his servants, even Esther's feast; and he made a release unto the provinces, and gave gifts according to the state of the king:' and the account of Herod and the daughter of Herodias (Mark vi. 21 ff.).

C. 111. 3. **σφι,** 'among them,' i. e. the Persians.

11. **δοκέει** is impersonal; 'I do not approve of it,' i. e. of your living with your present wife.

13. **με** is a correction for *μοι*. Herodotus does not use *κελεύειν* with the dative.

15. **ἠγάγεο.** For the middle cf. supr. c. 108. 16. **αὐτή τε,** for the return to the demonstrative pronoun after the relative cf. supr. 21. 2 *τῇ . . . καὶ ταύτῃ.*

18. Observe the plurals **μεγάλα** (viii. 3. 4 we have *μέγα πεποιημένοι*) and **οὐδέτερα** as idiomatic.

24. **οὕτω τοι πέπρηκται = οὕτως σοι τὸ πρᾶγμα ἔχει.**

C. 112. In vii. 114 we are told that Amestris, when old, buried alive fourteen children belonging to distinguished families among the Persians, as a sacrifice to please 'the deity who is said to be under the earth.' For other cruel acts of this horrible woman cf. Ctesias, De rebus Ind. §§ 43, 44. She lived to an extreme old age.

C. 114. 4. **ὑπὸ ἀνέμων ἀπολαμφθέντες,** i. e. by the Etesian winds which prevented them from sailing farther north.

5. Cf. viii. 117. 6 *ὑπὸ χειμῶνος διαλελυμένας.* **τὰς . . . καὶ τούτων,** cf. 111. 15.

8. According to Thucydides the Peloponnesians did not sail to the Hellespont, but went straight home from Mycale and Samos. **τοῖσι ἀμφὶ Λ.** Cf. supr. 57. 13, etc.

9. **ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα.** See the note on 106. 8.

C. 115. 2. **ὡς ἐόντος κ.τ.λ.** For Herodotus' preference for the gen. absol. cf. supr. 51. 13.

6. **ὅπλα**, 'cables,' vii. 25. **ἐνθαῦτα**, Sestos. **ταύτην**, Sestos.

7. **τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων συχνὸς ὅμιλος**. Cf. supr. 67. 9.

C. 116. 2. **τούτου τοῦ νόμου**, i. e. the European Satrapy, of which Sestos was the seat of government.

4. Protesilaus of Phylake in Phthiotis. He was the first Greek to land on the shore of Troy, where he was immediately slain by Hector.

7. **τέμενος**, a sacred precinct, set apart for the deity, and not cultivated.

10. **διεβάλετο**, 'deceived.'

11. **γῆν τὴν σήν**. See l. 18.

14. **ἔμελλε** = 'he could not fail to.'

15. The article is required before *ἀνδρός* if the words *δοῦναι ἀνδρὸς οἶκον* are to remain in the text.

21. **ἐνέμετο**, 'pastured with cattle.' **ἐν τῷ ἀδύτῳ κ.τ.λ.** Such defilement was a mark of distinction between Greek and barbarian, as we see from ii. 64 *οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι σχεδὸν πάντες ἄνθρωποι, πλὴν Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Ἑλλήνων, μίσγονται ἐν ἱροῖσι*.

24. **ἀφυλάκτῳ**, 'off his guard.' Another reading is *ἀφύκτως*, 'in such a manner that he could not escape.'

C. 117. 1. **σφι**, 'the besieged.

5. **τὸ Ἀθηναίων κοινόν**. Cf. supr. 87. 9, where we hear of *τὸ κοινόν* at Thebes. So at Sparta, vi. 58 init., *τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἰώνων* v. 109. 13; *τῶν Σαμίων* vi. 14. 11; see Schweigh. Lex. s. v.

6. **ἔστεργον**, 'submitted to.' The siege lasted into the winter. Thuc. i. 89 *ἐπιχειμάσαντες*.

C. 118. 2. **τοὺς τόνους**, 'the straps.' Scholiasts explain the word by *σχοινία*. Cf. Aristoph. Lysist. 923 where the *τόνος* is covered with a *ψίαθος*. **ὑπὸ νύκτα**, 'in the night,' as supr. 58. 2.

C. 119. 2. For the Apsinthians see vi. 34. Their territory extended from the Chersonesus to the Hebrus and the city Aenus. Of their deity Plistorus we know nothing more.

3. **τρόπῳ τῷ σφετέρῳ**, 'in their accustomed manner' (25. 1), i. e. of sacrificing. Compare the description of the sacrifice to Zalmoxis in iv. 94. 7 ff. by the Thracian Getae, and ib. 103. 4, where the Tauri sacrifice victims by striking them on the head with a club.

4. **ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ ἐφόνευσαν**, i. e. 'they merely slew them.'

C. 120. 5. **οἱ μὲν περιχυθέντες**, 'the bystanders.

8. **σημαίνει**. The shrine of Protesilaus was oracular.

13. **τῷ θεῷ**, Protesilaus.

17. **μιν καταχρησθῆναι**, 'to make an end of him.' **ταύτῃ**, 'in this direction,' with **ἔφερε**. The metaphor is derived from the use of *φέρω* (as in 99. 14) of a road leading in this or that direction.

20. **πρὸς σανίδας.** So Dobree for *σανίδας*. In vii. 33 the singular is used.

4. **τὸ ἔτος τοῦτο**, the year 479 B.C. Herodotus closes his narrative at the end of this year—the natural point at which to bring the story of the great invasion to an end. He could not have gone farther without entering upon themes which would have disturbed the simplicity of the narrative of the last three books—the rise of the Athenian empire, the quarrel between Athens and Sparta, etc. C. 121.

1. This short chapter is an epilogue, as it were, in which we are carried back to the days of the great Cyrus, and informed of his almost prophetic insight into the effect of conquest on the Persians. C. 122.

2. **ἐξηγησάμενος**, 'proposed.'

5. **κατελών**, i. e. Zeus. The story must be placed in the time immediately following the defeat of Astyages, 559 B.C., before the defeat of Croesus.

6. **καὶ ταύτην τρηχέαν.** In i. 71. 20 we are told that until the Persians subjugated Lydia, they had nothing 'luxurious or pleasant.'

9. **πλέοσι**, 'to more men.' (Stein translates 'in more respects.') We should be more admired than we are, and by more men.

13. **οὕτω** with **παρασκευάζεσθαι.**

15. This theory had the sanction of the physician Hippocrates, De Aer. Aq. ad fin. (vol. i. p. 567 Kühn.): *εὑρήσεις γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς χώρης τῇ φύσι ἀκολουθέοντα καὶ τὰ εἴδεα τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τοὺς τρόπους. ὅκου μὲν γὰρ ἡ γῆ πίειρα καὶ μαλθακὴ—καὶ τῶν ὡρέων καλῶς κέεται, ἐνθαῦτα καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι σαρκώδεές εἰσι καὶ ἀνάρθροι καὶ ὑγροὶ καὶ ἀταλαίπωροι καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν κακοὶ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πουλύ . . . ὅκου δ' ἐστὶ ἡ χώρη ψιλή τε καὶ ἀνώχυρος καὶ τρηχέα καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος πιεζομένη, καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου κεκαυμένη, ἐνθαῦτα δὲ . . . τά τε ἤθεα καὶ τὰς ὀργὰς αὐθάδεας καὶ ἰδιογνώμονας τοῦ τε ἀγρίου μᾶλλον μετέχοντας ἢ τοῦ ἡμέρου ἔς τε τὰς τέχνας ὀξυτέρους τε καὶ συνετωτέρους καὶ τὰ πολέμια ἀμείνους εὑρήσεις.*

18. **ἀποστάντες**, i. e. leaving the presence of Cyrus.

APPENDIX I.

The Movements at Plataea.

(*See Map.*)

i. *First Movement.*

Mardonius retired from the Megarid to the Plain of Athens, and, under the guidance of the Asopii, passed through Decelea to Sphendaleis, and thence to Tanagra. From Tanagra he turned to Scolus (westward, up the Asopus), where he was in Theban territory. Here he cut down trees on Theban ground in order to provide himself with material for building a stronghold and place of refuge for his army. The encamped army (στρατόπεδον) lay along the Asopus (παρὰ τὸν Ἀσωπόν), extending from Erythrae past Hysiae into the Plataeis; but the stronghold (τεῖχος) was only ten furlongs square (c. 15).

The Peloponnesians proceeded from the Isthmus to Eleusis, where they were joined by the Athenians from Salamis. Thence the army marched (doubtless by Eleutherae) to Erythrae, and finding the Persians encamped on the Asopus (ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀσωπῷ), they drew up on the slopes of Cithaeron (c. 19).

[Though the Persian army is said to extend from Erythrae into the Plataeis, it is clear that it was not at Erythrae, when the Greeks arrived there, but along the river below. The same is no doubt the case with Hysiae. Had the Persians been encamped there the Greeks could not have moved westward towards Plataea, as they did (in the second movement) without encountering them. We may assume then that in the *First Position the Persians lay along the northern bank of the river, and the Greeks opposite them, near Erythrae, with their lines fronting nearly north.*]

In this position the Greeks are attacked by the Persian horse under Masistius. The attack is defeated, Masistius slain, and the Persian horse return to the camp (cc. 20–24).

ii. *Second Movement.*

Encouraged by their success the Greeks resolve to go lower down into the plain of the Asopus in the direction of Plataea (*ἐπικαταβῆναι ἐς Πλαταιάς*). They march along the skirts of Cithaeron past Hysiae into the Plataeis (*παρὰ Ὑσιὰς ἐς τὴν Πλαταιίδα γῆν*, the same words are used of the extent of the Persian army in c. 15), and draw up 'by their nations' near the spring of Gargaphia and the precinct of Androcrates, partly among low hills, and partly in the level plain at the foot of Cithaeron (c. 25).

In this position they arranged the army for battle :—

On the *right wing*, which was nearest Gargaphia (c. 49. 11), were the Lacedaemonians, and the Tegeatae.

5000 Spartans with 35000 Helots	=	40000
5000 Perioeci with 5000 Helots	=	10000
1500 Tegeatae with 1500 *ψιλοί*	=	3000
		53000

In the *centre* were :—

5000	Corinthians.
300	Potidaeans.
600	Orchomenians.
3000	Sicyonians.
800	Epidaurians.
1000	Troezenians.
200	Lepreatae.
400	Mycenaeans. Tirynthians.
1000	Phliasians.
300	Hermioneans.
600	Eretrians. Styrians.
400	Chalcidians.
500	Ambraciots.

800	Leucadians.
	Anactorians.
200	Paleans.
500	Aeginetans.
3000	Megarians.

i. e. 18600 with about as many more ψιλοί[1] = 37200.

On the *left wing* were :—

600	Plataeans.
8000	Athenians.

i. e. 8600 with about as many more ψιλοί[1] = 17200.

The left wing and the bulk of the army were nearer the Asopus than Gargaphia, and used the river for water (c. 49. 13). The whole position of the Greeks is described as ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀσωπῷ (c. 30 ult., a phrase also used of the Persian army; see index, *Asopus*).

When Mardonius found that the Greeks had gone westward, he advanced his army in this direction, i. e. he brought it farther up the river Asopus (ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀσωπὸν τὸν ταύτῃ ῥέοντα, c. 31). Here he also drew up his forces in battle array.

Opposite the Greek right were the Persians.

Opposite the Corinthians—Sicyonians were the Medes.

Opposite the Epidaurians—Phliasians were the Bactrians.

Opposite the Hermioneans—Chalcidians were the Indians.

Opposite the Ambraciots—Aeginetans were the Sacae.

Opposite the Megarians—Athenians were the Medizing Greeks.

The cavalry were drawn up separately (cc. 31, 32). Both armies *are now drawn up opposite each other with the Asopus between them. As the Asopus here makes a bend, the front of the Greeks would now be more eastward than in the First Position.* In this position the armies lay for ten days, the

[1] Herodotus does not quote as many hoplites as ψιλοί. There are, omitting the Spartans, 33,700 hoplites and 34,500 ψιλοί, c. 29 (omitting the Thespians who had no ὅπλα).

omens on either side forbidding them to cross the river. But on the eighth day the Persian horse seized the pass of Dryoscephalae and interrupted the supplies which came to the Greeks from the Peloponnesus. They also were able to drive the left wing and centre from the neighbourhood of the river, and at length to choke up and destroy the fountain of Gargaphia, and thus bring the Greeks into serious distress for want of water and provisions.

Mardonius, vexed at the delay, holds a council on the eleventh day, and determines to advance, in spite of the omens which have hitherto prevented him from crossing the river, on the next morning. In the night Alexander of Macedon informs the Athenians of this intention. The Lacedaemonians hereupon propose to the Athenians to change places with them in order that the Athenians may be opposed to the Persians, and the Lacedaemonians to the Boeotians. The change is made, but as it is reported to Mardonius, who makes a corresponding change in his army, the plan is abandoned and each army returns to the original arrangement. For some unexplained reason the attack, which Mardonius intended, is not made on the twelfth day, but the Persian horse greatly distress the Greeks.

iii. *Third Movement.*

In order to escape from the attacks of the horse, and to secure provisions and water, the Greeks determine on the night of the twelfth day (*a*) to retire to a place known as the 'island,' but which was really a peninsula formed by two of the sources of the river Oeroe, and (*b*) to send half the army to recover the pass of Dryoscephalae. But this movement miscarries. For the centre of the army (from the Corinthians to the Megarians inclusive), instead of retiring to the island, which was ten furlongs to the west of Gargaphia, made for the Heraeum at Plataea, which was twenty furlongs from Gargaphia; and Amompharetus, who was in charge of a Spartan division, refused to leave his post at all. *Thus the Greek army is divided on the morning of the thirteenth day into two disconnected wings.* Under these circumstances the

Lacedaemonians, leaving Amompharetus, retire for ten furlongs along the roots of Cithaeron to the river Moloeis, and the place called Argiopius, where was a temple of Demeter; and the Athenians retire across the level ground, nearer the Asopus. The Lacedaemonians are now vigorously attacked by the Persian horse, and send for assistance to the Athenians. But before the Athenians can come to their assistance both the Lacedaemonians and the Athenians are engaged. For Mardonius, seeing that the Lacedaemonians had left their post, rushed pell-mell after them in the direction of Cithaeron, and at the same time the Boeotians and other Medizing Greeks attacked the Athenians.

The battle was then fought as Herodotus describes it, ending in the death of Mardonius, the total rout of the army, the storming of the τεῖχος, and the slaughter, if he is to be trusted, of 257,000 men.

Plutarch, in his account of the battle (Arist. c. 11 ff.), does not distinguish between the first and second movements. He puts the Androcratium and the temple of Demeter close together, under Cithaeron, and in the neighbourhood of Hysiae. In describing the last movement (c. 16) he merely says: καὶ τοῖς Ἕλλησι βουλευομένοις ἔδοξε πορρωτέρω μεταστρατοπεδεῦσαι καὶ καταλαβεῖν εὔυδρον χωρίον, ἐπεὶ τὰ πλησίον νάματα καθύβριστο καὶ διέφθαρτο τῶν βαρβάρων ἱπποκρατούντων, and in the next sentence describes the rush of the centre (πλῆθος) to the city of Plataea. He omits all mention of the name Gargaphia; does not allude to the Asopus as a source of water to the Greeks, or to the seizure of the passes by Mardonius, and the resolution of the Greeks to recover them. Yet he mentions Herodotus by name, and certainly had his account of the battle before him, which indeed in some points he attempts to controvert.

Diodorus also speaks of two movements only, the first and second. He describes them thus:—

(i) xi. 29. 4. The Greeks advanced over Cithaeron into

Boeotia, *καὶ πρὸς τὰς ὑπωρείας καταντήσαντες πλησίον τῶν Ἐρυθρῶν αὐτοῦ κατεστρατοπέδευσαν.*

(ii) xi. 30. 4, 5. After the repulse of the Persian horse, (i. e. the defeat of Masistius, whose name Diodorus does not mention), *ἐκ τῆς ὑπωρείας μετεστρατοπέδευσαν εἰς ἕτερον τόπον εὐθετώτερον πρὸς τὴν ὁλοσχερῆ νίκην. ἦν γὰρ ἐκ μὲν τῶν δεξιῶν γεώλοφος ὑψηλός, ἐκ δὲ τῶν εὐωνύμων ὁ Ἀσωπὸς ποταμός· τὸν δ' ἀνὰ μέσον τόπον ἐπεῖχεν ἡ στρατοπεδεία, πεφραγμένη τῇ φύσει καὶ ταῖς τῶν τόπων ἀσφαλείαις.* Here the battle took place.

Diodorus, therefore, entirely ignores the third movement, the distress caused by the attack of the Persian horse, the want of water, the difficulty of obtaining supplies, and the retreat of the centre.

We may reasonably assume that the Greeks who formed the centre did all that they could to obscure the part which they played in the battle—*τῶν ἐπιγιγνομένων εἵνεκεν ἀνθρώπων* (c. 85. 16).

APPENDIX II.

(a) *Characteristics in the narrative.*

Herodotus speaks in his own person in the following passages:—

c. 8. 7. The only reason he can give for the change of the attitude of the Lacedaemonians towards the Athenians is the completion of the wall at the Isthmus.

c. 16. 6. He heard himself from Thersander the account of the conversation with the Persian at the banquet of Attaginus.

c. 18. 7. He cannot state precisely what was the real intention of Mardonius in his treatment of the Phocians.

c. 32. 15. He fixes the numbers of the Greeks with Mardonius by conjecture.

c. 43. 1. He has a knowledge of the oracle used by Mardonius to bring about the attack at Plataea.

c. 65. 4. He expresses his wonder that no Persian was slain *in* the precincts of Demeter, and accounts for the fact.

c. 68. 1. He is convinced that everything in the Persian army depended on the Persians themselves (who were the bravest and best armed troops).

c. 71. 5. He gives what he thinks the only reason which can be alleged for the superiority of the Lacedaemonians at Plataea.

c. 81. 13. He gives his opinion about the presents made to distinguished combatants after Plataea.

c. 84. 2. He cannot precisely say who buried Mardonius.

c. 85. 14. He gives the account of the cenotaphs at Plataea as the result of his own enquiry (*ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι*).

c. 95. 2. He has heard that Deiphonus was an impostor.

c. 113. 7. He thinks that Masistes would have induced the Bactrians to revolt.

Characteristic of the historian are the reflections on supernatural events: on the vengeance taken by Demeter for the burning of her temple, on the rumour at Mycale, and on the coincidence in time and place between the battles of Plataea and Mycale (both were fought on the same day, and in both the thick of the fight took place at a temple of Demeter, cc. 100–101). From the same temper springs the lively interest which he takes in seers and prophecies, as is shown by his accounts of Tisamenus, Hegesistratus, and Evenius, the action of Mardonius described in c. 42, the quotation of the oracle of Bacis in c. 43, the omen of Hegesistratus (c. 91), and the fried fish (c. 120) which portended the doom of Artayctes. What is said about the treachery of the Spartans, the cowardice of the Thebans, and the baseness of the Aeginetans, is probably an indication of the personal convictions of the author.

The picturesqueness of the narrative is greatly increased by the accounts of the death of Masistius and the exhibition of his body; of Amompharetus, and Callicrates; of the nocturnal visit of Alexander to the Athenian outposts; of the interview of Pausanias with Lampon of Aegina, and with the Coan concubine of Pharandates; of the quarrel of Masistes and Artayntes; of the conduct of Xerxes to-

wards the wife and daughter of Amestris; and the death of Artayctes.

The interest shown everywhere in athletic and handsome men (Tisamenus, 33. 10; Eurybates, 75. 2; Masistius, 25. 6; Tigranes, 96. 13; Callicrates, 72. 2); the observations in c. 16 on the impossibility of avoiding the decrees of destiny (which are put in the mouth of a Persian), and in c. 27 on the changes of character which time may bring about in a nation; the contrasts drawn between the rashness of Mardonius in disregarding omens and the steadfastness of Pausanias in obeying them, between Persian luxury and Laconian simplicity, are highly characteristic of Greek feeling and thought in the age of Herodotus.

(b) *Herodotus and Sophocles.*

The following coincidences in the language of these contemporary writers are interesting:—

c. 2. 13 *τὰ σὰ φρονέοντας.*
Soph. Aj. 491 *εὖ φρονῶ τὰ σά.*
c. 7. 2 *περὶ πλείστου ἦγον.*
Soph. Ant. 35 *ἄγειν παρ' οὐδέν.*
c. 14. 4 *ὑποστρέψας.*
Soph. O. T. 728 *ὑποστραφείς.*
c. 16. 29 *ἐχθίστη δ' ὀδύνη ἐστὶ . . . πολλὰ φρονέοντα μηδενὸς κρατέειν.*
Soph. O. T. 316
φεῦ φεῦ φρονεῖν ὡς δεινὸν ἔνθα μὴ τέλη
λύει φρονοῦντι.
c. 17. 17 *προόπτῳ θανάτῳ.*
Soph. O. C. 1440 *ἐς προὔπτον Ἅιδην.*
c. 17. 21 *αἰσχίστῳ μόρῳ.*
Soph. Aj. 1059 *αἴσχιστον μόρον.*
c. 26. 6 *ἐκ = ὑπό.*
The use is frequent in Sophocles.
c. 32. 15 *ἀπεικάσαι.*
Soph. O. C. 16 *ὡς ἀπεικάσαι.*

c. 72. 10 ἐχρήσατο τῇ χειρί.
Soph. Aj. 115 χρῶ χειρί.
c. 77 ἐπ' ἐξεργασμένοισι.
Soph. Aj. 377 ἐπ' ἐξειργασμένοις.
And if the reading of R. be accepted.
c. 109. 10 δοκέων αἰτήσεσθαι.
Soph. Ant. 778 αἰτουμένη.

On c. 93. 14 κατακοιμήσαντος τὴν φυλακήν Cobet, who reads κατακοιμίσαντος, remarks 'κατακοιμήσαντα Sophocleum est.'

(c) *The Language.*

Among words and phrases which give an elevated, and even a poetical tone to the language, we may notice, among others, δεινός τις ἐνέστακτο ἵμερος (c. 3. 3); ἐς πᾶσαν ἀρρωδίην ἀπικόμενοι (7. 21); μεγάλαι κλισιάδες ἀναπεπτέαται (9. 10); φρενὶ λαβόντες τὸν λόγον (10. 2); τὴν Βοιωτίην κατεῖχε ἠχώ (14. 5); προόπτῳ θανάτῳ δώσειν (17. 17); φόνον ἔρραψαν (17. 23); τρέχων περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς (37. 9); παραγυμνοῖ ἔπος (41. 13); πρόσω τῆς νυκτὸς προελήλατο (44. 3); ἀλκῆς ἐμέμνητο (70. 21); πλέω μὴ ἀναπλήσῃ (87. 6); τὴν μεσόγαιαν τάμνων τῆς ὁδοῦ (89. 20); λιμῷ συστάντες καὶ καμάτῳ (89. 23); πολλὸς ἦν λισσόμενος (91. 2); ὑπαρπάσας τὸν ἐπίλοιπον λόγον (91. 6); φήμη ἐσέπτατο (100. 2); δέννος (107. 9); ὠθισμός (λόγων, 26); νέμεται (7. 20); χήτει (11. 8); λεωσφέτερος (33. 6); ἐκβολαί (39. 4); αἴνη (16. 25); ἄτρυτον πόνον εἶχον (52. 2); ἐτρόχαζε (66. 16); αὐτοκελέες (5. 15); ἐς χειρῶν νόμον ἀπικέσθαι (48. 8); ἡ ἡμέρη ἔληγε (52. 3); ἐν φονῇσι εἶναι (76. 8); ἀνὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον σκιδνάμενοι (80. 4); πρὸς ἀλκὴν τραπέσθαι (102. 19); ἀλεώρη (6. 12); θοίνη (82. 13); ἀπεστοῖ (85. 15); κληδών (91. 2); διαπορθμεύω (4. 4). ἀλύκταζον (70. 21); περιχυθέντες (120. 5); ἀνάπυστα (109. 1); ἑτεραλκέα (104. 7); κτιστύς (97. 6).

(d) *Grammar, etc.*

The following constructions etc. deserve notice:—*ἱκνέεσθαι* without *ἐς* (26. 32); *ἔδησαν ἐπί* without *τήν* (36. 7); *ῥῦσαι* without *ἐκ* (76. 12); *ἀγορεύσασθαι* in the middle voice (26. 13); *καταδοκέω* with the dative (99. 17); *προσωφελέειν* with the dative (103. 8); *ἀντιώσεσθαι* with the accusative (7. 25); *ἐδόκεε* without *οἱ* (5. 4); *τὸ νέον* (26. 7); *ἐπὶ διακειμένοισι* for *ἐπὶ συγκειμένοισι* (26. 17); the aorist indic. with *τί οὐ*; (48. 17); *οὐδένες* in the plural (58. 11); the subjunctive with *ἄν* after *ὁκοῖόν τι* (11. 12); *θέλων εἰ* (14. 4); the use of *ἐς* in *ἐς τὴν ὑστέρην* (3. 9), and in *ἐς πάτρων* (78. 15); of *ἐπί* in *ἐπ' ὅρκου* (11. 14), and *ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα* (95. 5); of *ὑπό* in *ὑπὸ νύκτα* (51. 18 etc.); the aorist infinitive to express a purpose (6. 11); the superfluous comparative, *μᾶλλον* (7. 17); the omission of the comparative (7. 17); the false concord, *ὅσοι ὑμέων τυγχάνουσι* (42. 17; 98. 14); the optative with *ὡς ἄν* (22. 21 etc.); the subjunctive without *ἄν* after *οὐ πρότερον (πρὶν) ἤ* (87. 5); the preference for the genitive, as in 51. 13; 58. 14.

CRITICAL NOTE.

(a) *Explanation of the marks in the Text.*

C. 13. ult. *ἐν add. Schweigh. om. MSS.
14. 2. *πρόδρομον Schweigh. *πρόδρομος* MSS.
19. 8. ἐκαλλιέρεε, *τὸ Süvern. ἐκαλλιερέετο MSS.
31. 9. ἦν *αὐτῶν Pauw. ἦν αὐτοῦ MSS.
33. 6. †Κλυτιάδην See the note.
34. 3. *αἰτεόμενον Reiske. αἰτεόμενος MSS.
35. 12. *'Ιθώμῃ Palmer. ἰσθμῷ or τῷ ἰσθμῷ MSS.
37. 27. *συγκεκρημένον Reiske. συγκεχωρη(σ)μένον Rsv. συγκεκυρημένον cet. MSS.
43. 5. †ἐστὶ See note.
55. 5. *Λακεδαιμονίων Schaefer. Λακεδαιμονίους MSS.
55. 12. †πρός τε See note.
57. 2. ἀρχήν *γε Schweigh. ἀρχήν τε MSS.
71. 12. *Σπαρτιῆται Krüger. ὁ Σπαρτιήτης or Σπαρτιήτης MSS.
73. 2. *ἐὼν δήμου Koen. δήμου or ἐκ δήμου MSS.
78. 1. *ἐὼν τὰ πρῶτα Cobet. τὰ πρῶτα MSS.
78. 15. *τετιμωρήσεαι Süvern. τετιμώρησαι MSS.
82. 6. †καθώς See note.
83. 5. *ἔτι τούτων Valck. ἐπὶ τούτων MSS.
84. 1. †ἐπεί τε See note.
85. 5, 7. *ἰρένας, *ἰρένες Valck. ἱρέας, ἱρέες MSS.
93. 25. †ἔπειτα κ.τ.λ. See notes.
98. 19. *ἐπακούσας Bekker. ἀκούσας MSS.
98. 20. †οὗτος See note.
100. 1. *παρεσκεύαστο Reiske. παρεσκευάδατο MSS.
102. 6. †ἔτι Misplaced or unnecessary.
104. 1. *ἐκ τῶν Περσέων Valck. τῶν Περσέων MSS.
106. 18. οὐδὲ *Πελοποννησίους Schweigh. οὐδὲ Πελοποννησίοισι MSS.
116. 15. †δοῦναι See note.
120. 11. *οἱ Pauw. σοι MSS.
120. 20. *πρὸς σανίδας Dobree. σανίδας MSS.

(b) *Passages in which this Text follows Rsv when Stein (Berlin, 1884) follows A B etc.*

C. 2. 10. ἅπαν τὰ ἐκείνων . πάντα τὰ ἐκείνων, but Stein adopts ἰσχυρά from Rsv
3. 2. δεινός τις δεινὸς
4. 6. ἐλπίσας ἐλπίζων
4. 7. ἐούσης πάσης τῆς Ἀ. χ. καὶ ἐούσης ἤδη . . . ἐούσης τῆς Ἀ. χ. καὶ ἐούσης
7. 5. ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων . . . ἀπ' Ἀθηνέων
7. 26. ἐσβαλόντα προεσβαλόντα (προσβαλόντα AB)
7. 32. ἐμμαχέσασθαι . . . μαχέσασθαι
10. 6. ἐπιτρέψαντες . . . ἐπιτάξαντες
10. 6. μέν νυν μὲν
10. 12. πολλόν τινα χρόνον . πολλὸν χρόνον τινὰ
12. 9. ἴσχειν ἔχειν
13. 14. καὶ ὀλίγους ὀλίγους
14. 5. ὑποστρέψας δὴ . . . ὑποστρέψας δὲ
15. 10. ἐχόμενος, βουλόμενος . ἐχόμενος
15. 11. στρατοπέδῳ στρατῷ
16. 22. τε ἅμα ἅμα τε
16. 31. τοῦ Ὀρχομενίου . . Ὀρχομενίου
17. 11. ὡς δὲ ἐπεὶ δὲ
18. 2. ἐπεί τε ἐπεὶ
20. 4. χρυσοχάλινόν τε καὶ . χρυσοχάλινον καὶ
23. 2. ἀλλ' ἅμα πάντας . . ἀλλὰ πάντας
25. 3. ἐθάρσησαν ἐθάρσησάν τε
26. 2. πολλὸς ὠθισμὸς . . πολλῶν ὠθισμὸς
30. 3. τοῦ δὲ σύμπαντος Ἑλληνικοῦ τοῦ δὲ σ. τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ
31. 8. καὶ τοὺς T. τοὺς T.
31. 24. Μηλιέας Μηλιέας τε
32. 5. καὶ Μυσῶν καὶ Θρηίκων καὶ Θρηίκων καὶ M.
32. 15. ἀπεικάσαι ἐπεικάσαι
33. 1. κατά τε ἔθνεα . . . κατὰ ἔθνεα
37. 15. ὥστε φυλασσόμενος . ὡς φυλασσόμενος
37. 18. ὥστε Λακεδαιμονίων . ὡς Λ.
39. 11. φειδόμενοι οὐ φειδόμενοι
46. 17. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἀλλὰ
48. 8. τάξιν στάσιν
49. 2. ὑπεκρίνετο ὑπεκρίνατο
49. 7. ἑστοξεύοντες . . . τοξεύοντες
51. 3. μὴ ποιεύμενοι . . . ποιεύμενοι

C. 52. 4.	ἐς τ̓ὴν δὴ	ἐς τὴν
55. 4.	παρηγόρεον	παρηγορέοντο
55. 13.	τὸν Ἀθηναίων κ. . .	τὸν Ἀθηναῖον κ.
59. 8.	ἕκαστος εἶχον . . .	ἕκαστοι εἶχον
62. 9.	μάχη ἰσχυρὴ . . .	ἡ μάχη ἰσχ.
64. 8.	Ἀριμνήστου	Ἀεμνήστου
69. 10.	οἱ Θηβαίων ἱππόται .	οἱ τῶν Θ. ἱπ.
71. 6.	ἰσχυρότατον . . .	ἰσχυρότερον
71. 15.	ἐκλιπόντα	ἐκλείποντα
74. 12.	ἐπίσημον ἄγκυραν . .	ἄγκυραν
75. 2.	ὅτε	ὅτι
76. 21.	ταῦτα εἶπας	ταῦτα δὲ εἶπας
80. 11.	οὐδὲ εἷς	οὐδεὶς
81. 9.	τὸν ἄργυρον	ἄργυρον
82. 17.	τοῦ δείπνου τὴν . .	τοῦ δείπνου
82. 19.	τοῦ Μήδων ἡγεμόνος .	τοῦδε τοῦ Μήδων ἡγεμόνος
85. 19.	Αἰγινητέων	τῶν Αἰγινητέων
86. 2.	στρατεύεσθαι . . .	στρατεύειν
89. 23.	Θρηίκων τε	Θρηίκων
90. 4.	ἐπειδὴ γὰρ	ἐπεὶ γὰρ δὴ
93. 4.	τοῦ τὸν πατέρα . .	τούτου τὸν πατέρα
93. 14.	τὴν φυλακὴν . . .	φυλακὴν
98. 2.	ἐν ἀπορίῃ	ἀπορίῃ
98. 7.	τὰ ἄλλα	ἄλλα
98. 14.	ὅσοι ὑμέων	οἳ ὑμέων
98. 19.	ἐπακούσαντος . . .	ἀκούσαντος
103. 4.	τῶν δὲ Σαμίων . . .	τῶν τε Σαμίων
106. 15.	ἐμπόρια	ἐμπολαῖα (ἐμπόλια A B)
107. 2.	ἐς τὰ ἄκρα τε . . .	ἐς τὰ ἄκρα
108. 6.	προσέφερε	προσεφέρετο
110. 7.	ἐν ἡμέρῃ	ἡμέρῃ
112. 4.	τὴν Μασίστεω . . .	τοῦ Μασίστεω
113. 9.	ἔστεργόν τε	ἔστεργον
114. 12.	διαβαλόντες	διαβάντες
116. 13.	ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν σὴν . .	ἐπὶ γῆν σὴν
116. 24.	ἀφυλάκτῳ δέ κως . .	ἀφύκτως δέ κως
117. 2.	ἥσχαλλον	καὶ ἥσχαλλον
119. 2.	ἐκφυγόντα	ἐκφεύγοντα
119. 9.	ἤγαγον	ἦγον
122. 8.	ἔχοντες	σχόντες
122. 15.	μαλακοὺς ἄνδρας . .	μαλακοὺς

These variations show the kind of difference which prevails be-

tween the MSS. Of course in order to make a full comparison it would be necessary to add the instances in which Rsv are distinctly inferior to A B etc., and those also in which Stein follows Rsv rather than A B. Such a comparison cannot be attempted here. What is given is enough to show that the readings in Rsv are often more forcible and elegant than those in A B and if there are instances in which the improvement can hardly be ascribed to *correction*; e.g. *τὰ ἐκείνων ἰσχυρὰ βουλεύματα* (2. 10); *ἐπιτρέψαντες* (10. 6); *ἀπεικάσαι* (32. 15, cf. Soph. O. C. 16 *ὡς ἀπεικάσαι*); *φειδόμενοι* (39. 11); *μὴ ποιεύμενοι* (51. 3); *ἕκαστος* (59. 8); *διαβαλόντες* (114. 12); *ἀφυλάκτῳ δέ κως* (116. 24), it is hazardous to assume that variants which are less striking are due to the hand of a corrector of the twelfth century.

Those who wish to follow the question of the MSS. of Herodotus farther may consult—

Abicht, De codicum Herodoti fide atque auctoritate, Berolini; and the same author's edition of Herodotus published in the Bernhard Tauchnitz series of classics.

Stein, Herodotus. Berolini, 1869. Preface.

Cobet, Mnemosyne. New Series. Vol. xii, 1884 (for Bk. ix).

Gomperz, Herodoteische Studien, i, ii. Wien, 1883.

Wehrmann, De Herodotei Codicis Romani auctoritate. Halis Saxonum, 1882.

Kallenberg, Philologus, xliv. 4; and the same author's edition of the text. Leipzig, 1885.

The Principal Peculiarities of the Ionic Dialect as compared with the Attic.

§ 1. The Consonants.

(*a*) Dropping of the aspirate, as *ἀπικνέεσθαι, ἐπορᾶν, ὑπιστάναι, κατάπερ, κατά* for *καθ' ἅ, ἐπ' ᾧ, οὐκ ὑπέρ, αὖτις, δέκομαι, οὐκί.*

(*b*) Interchange of aspirates, as *ἐνθαῦτα, κιθών, βάθρακος* for *ἐνταῦθα, χιτών, βάτραχος.*

(*c*) Substitution of *κ* for *π*, as *κοῖος, κόσος, οὔκω, ὁκότερος*: of *ξ* for *σσ*, as *διξός, τριξός* for *δισσός, τρισσός.*

§ 2. The Vowels.

(*a*) Substitution of *η* for *α*, as *πρήσσω, τρηχύς, διήκονος, νεηνίης, καθαρή, τοιήδε.*

(*b*) Substitution of *ε* for *α*, as *τέσσερες, ἔρσην, κέρεος*; and the converse, as *μέγαθος, τάμνω, τράπω.*

(*c*) Substitution of *ᾰ* for *η*, as *λάξομαι, ἀμφισβατέω.*

(*d*) Substitution of *η* for *ᾰ*, as *σφρηγίς, πολλαπλήσιος.*

§ 3. The Diphthongs.

(*a*) Substitution of *αι* for *α*, as *αἰεί, αἰετός.*

(*b*) „ *ω* for *αυ*, as *θῶμα, τρῶμα.*

(*c*) „ *ει* for *ε*, as *ξεῖνος, εἵνεκεν, στεινός.*

(*d*) „ *ε* for *ει*, as *μέζων, ἔωθα, ἐπιτήδεος, βαθέα, ἔδεξα, ἐωθώς.*

(*e*) „ *ου* for *ο*, as *μοῦνος, νοῦσος, οὖρος, οὔνομα, γούνατος.*

(*f*) „ *ω* for *ου*, as *ὦν, τοιγαρῶν.*

§ 4. Contraction, Diaeresis, Crasis, and Elision.

(*a*) Contraction of *οη* to *ω*, as *ὀγδώκοντα*, *βωθήσας*, *ἐννώσας*.
„ *εο* to *ευ*, as *πλεῦνες*.

(*b*) Diaeresis of *ει* to *ηϊ*, as *βασιληίη*, *μνημήιον*, *οἰκήιος*,
[NOTE.—Properispomenon nouns in *ειᾶ*, as *μεγαλοπρέπεια*, *βασίλειᾶ* (*queen*), *ἀλήθεια* retain *ει*.]

(*c*) Elision of prepositions, etc., as *ἐπ᾽ ἐμοῦ*, *ἀπ᾽ ἀνθρώπων*, *ἄμ᾽ ἡμέρῃ*, *ἔχοιμ᾽ ἄν*.

(*d*) Crasis, on the Attic system, as *τἆλλα*, *ταὐτά*, *τἀληθές*.
„ on the Ionic system, as *ὠνήρ*, *τᾶτερα*, *τὠπό*.

(*e*) Crasis of *ἕο αὐτοῦ* to *ἑωυτοῦ*, *ἐμέο αὐτοῦ* to *ἐμεωυτοῦ*, *σέο αὐτοῦ* to *σεωυτοῦ*, *ὁ αὐτός* to *ὠυτός*.

(*f*) Special contracted forms, *ὁρτή* for *ἑορτή*, *ἱρόν* for *ἱερόν*, *οἰκός* for *ἐοικός*.

§ 5. The Declensions.

First Declension.

(*a*) Feminine nouns terminating in *ᾱ* change the *ᾱ* to *η* except in accusative plural, as *ἡμέρη*, *χώρην*, *ἱστορίῃ*.

Nouns terminating in *ᾰ* keep the *ᾰ* in nominative and accusative *εὔνοια*, *εὐνοίης*, *εὐνοίῃ*, *εὔνοιαν*.

(*b*) Nouns masculine in *ας*, as *νεανίας*, *Ἀμύντας*, take the termination *ης*, as *νεηνίης*. The genitive is formed by *εω*, as *δεσπότεω*, *νεηνίεω*, and the accusative in *ην* as well as *εα*.

(*c*) The genitive plural ends in *εων*, as *γλωσσέων*. The genitive plural of feminine adjectives and participles also ends in *εων*, but only when in Attic the accent would be perispomenon, as for *πασῶν*, *πασέων*: *λεχθεισῶν*, *λεχθεισέων*.

(*d*) The dative plural ends in *-ῃσι*, as *τῇσι*, *δεσπότῃσι*, *τιμῇσι*.

Second Declension.

(*e*) The dative plural is in *-οισι*, as *λόγοισι*.

(*f*) The so-called 'Attic' 2nd declension is used by Herodotus only in proper names, as *Μενέλεως*, *Ἀμφιάρεως*.

For λεώς, νεώς, κάλως, λαγώς he gives the Ionic forms ληώς, νηός, κάλος, λαγός; and for πλέως, ἵλεως, ἀξιόχρεως the forms πλέος, etc.

THIRD DECLENSION.

(*g*) Neuters in ος, substantives and adjectives in ης, υς, or υ leave all cases uncontracted. Neuters in ας (except γῆρας) decline with ε instead of α, as κέρεος, κέρεϊ.

(*h*) Words in ευς decline as follows—

βασιλεύς—λέος—λέϊ—λέα—λεῦ . . . λέες—λέων—λεῦσι—λέας.

In ις mostly as follows—

πόλῐς—ιος—ι—ιν—ι . . . ιες [ῖς]—ιων—ισι—ιας [ῖς].

Cp. Σάρδῐς acc. plur. Atticé Σάρδεις. The nom. is variously Σάρδῐς and Σάρδιες.

The word νηῦς (ναῦς) declines thus—

νηῦς, νεύς, νηί, νέα, νέες, νεῶν, νηυσί, νέας.

§ 6. Pronouns.

(*a*) Personal. Besides ἐμέο, σέο, ἕο, we have ἐμεῦ, σεῦ, εὗ. For αὐτῷ or αὐτῇ we have οἱ; for αὐτόν, αὐτήν, αὐτό, frequently μιν; for αὐτοῖς or αὐταῖς, σφι; and for ἑαυτοῖς or ἑαυταῖς, σφίσι. The form σφε serves as the accusative of all genders and numbers, and there is a special neuter plural form σφέα.

(*b*) The nominatives ἡμεῖς, ὑμεῖς, σφεῖς are always contracted, but in the oblique cases we have ἡμέων, ὑμέων, σφέων : ἡμέας, ὑμέας, σφέας.

(*c*) The relative pronoun is declined, ὅς, ἥ, τό—οἵ, αἵ, τά. All oblique cases have the initial τ, but this rule does not apply to the declension of ὅστις. For the Attic ὅτου, ὅτῳ, ὅτοισι, ἅτινα, Herodotus uses ὅτευ, ὅτεῳ, ὁτέοισι, ἅσσα.

EXCEPTION. After prepositions which can elide the final vowel (ἀντί, ἀπό, διά, ἐπί, κατά, μετά, παρά, ὑπό), the Attic forms of the relative are used, e.g. ἀντ' ὧν, ἀπ' οὗ, μετ' ἧς (but τῆς μέτα etc.); also ἐν ᾧ, ἐς ὅ, μέχρι οὗ, ἐξ οὗ.

(*d*) In the declension of τίς, for τίνος, τίνι, τίνων, τίσι Herodotus uses τέο [τεῦ], τέῳ, τέων, τέοισι.

CONJUGATION.

§ 7. Augment.

The use of the syllabic and temporal augment in Herodotus, though not constant as in Attic, is more governed by rule than in the Homeric poems. It is regularly absent from certain words of poetical or of distinct Ionic form, nor is it used with verbs beginning with *αι, αυ, ει, ευ, οι,* or with the iterative tenses in *σκον, σκομην.*

§ 8. Terminations.

(*a*) The third person plural in *αται, ατο* for *νται, ντο* is found, (1) in Perfects and Pluperfects of the ω conjugation, as *τετύφαται, ἀπίκατο, βεβλέαται* (with shortening of *η* to *ε*), *ὡρμέατο.* (2) In Optative, as *βουλοίατο, ἀπικοίατο.* (3) In Pres. and Imperf. Pass. of verbs in *μι,* as *παρετιθέατο, δυνέαται.*

(*b*) Uncontracted form of Pluperfect Active, as *ἐώθεα—εας—εε.* 3rd Pers. Plur. *-εσαν.*

(*c*) Uncontracted form of 2nd Pers. Sing. Indic. Passive and Middle, as *οἴχεαι, ἔσεαι, ἀπίκεο, ἐγένεο, ἐδέξαο, ὑπεθήκαο, πείθεο* [Imperat.].

[NOTE.—The second person of all these forms is contracted in the Conjunctive.]

(*d*) In Aor. I. II. Passive Conjunctive, and Aor. II. Conjunct. of verbs in *μι* the contracted vowel *ῶ* is opened into *εω,* as *αἱρεθέω, ἐξαναστέωμεν.*

§ 9. Contracted Verbs.

(*a*) In verbs in *εω,* Herodotus leaves open many of the forms contracted by Attic rule, e.g. *καλεόμενος, καλέῃ, ἐκάλεον, φιλοσοφέων.* In a few verbs in *εω,* the vowels *εο* and *εου* contract into *ευ,* to avoid the concurrence of three or more vowels, as *πο-ι-ε-ό-μενος* becomes *ποιεύμενος.* The impersonal *δεῖ* is contracted, but the form of the Imperfect is *ἔδεε.*

(*b*) The same rules apply to the contracted future of verbs, as for *μενέουσι*, *καταπλουτιέειν*, *χαριέεσθαι*. But a similar contraction into *ευ* (see above) takes place with some 'Attic' futures, as *κομιεύμεθα*, *ἀνταγωνιεύμενος*.

(*c*) In verbs in *άω*, the Attic contraction into *ω* is generally left open; but instead of the diaeresis appearing as *αω*, *αο*, *αου*, it mostly follows the analogy of verbs in *εω*, and appears as *εω*, *εο*, *εου*, as *ὁρέω*, *ὁρέομεν*, *ὥρεον*, *ὁρέωμεν*, etc. But the Attic contraction *ᾳ* or *ᾱ* remains undisturbed, as *ὁρᾷς*, *ὁρᾶσθαι*. *Χράω* and *χράομαι* however do not contract into *η* but *α*.

(*d*) Verbs in *οω* generally follow the Attic rules of contraction, but in verbs in which a vowel precedes the letters liable to contraction, *οο* and *οου* are mostly contracted to *ευ*, as *ἐδικαί-ευν*, *ἀξιεῦνται*.

§ 10. Verbs in -μι.

(*a*) The 2nd and 3rd Pers. Sing. and 3rd Pers. Plur. of *τίθημι*, *ἵστημι*, and *δίδωμι* follow the forms of the *ω* conjugation as *τιθεῖς*, *τιθεῖ*, *τιθεῖσι*; *ἱστᾷς*, *ἱστᾷ*, *ἱστᾶσι*; *διδοῖς*, *διδοῖ*, *διδοῦσι*. The imperf. of *τίθημι* is *ἐτίθεα*, *ἐτίθεες*, *ἐτίθεε*. Particip. Perf. of *ἵστημι*, *ἑστεώς*.

(*b*) Dialectial forms of *εἰμί* (*sum*) are—For *ἐσμέν*, *εἰμέν*; for *εἶεν*, *εἴησαν*; for *ὤν* and *οὖσα*, *ἐών* and *ἐοῦσα*, etc.; for *ἦν*, *ἔσκον*, or sometimes *ἔα*, *ἔας*, *ἔατε*.

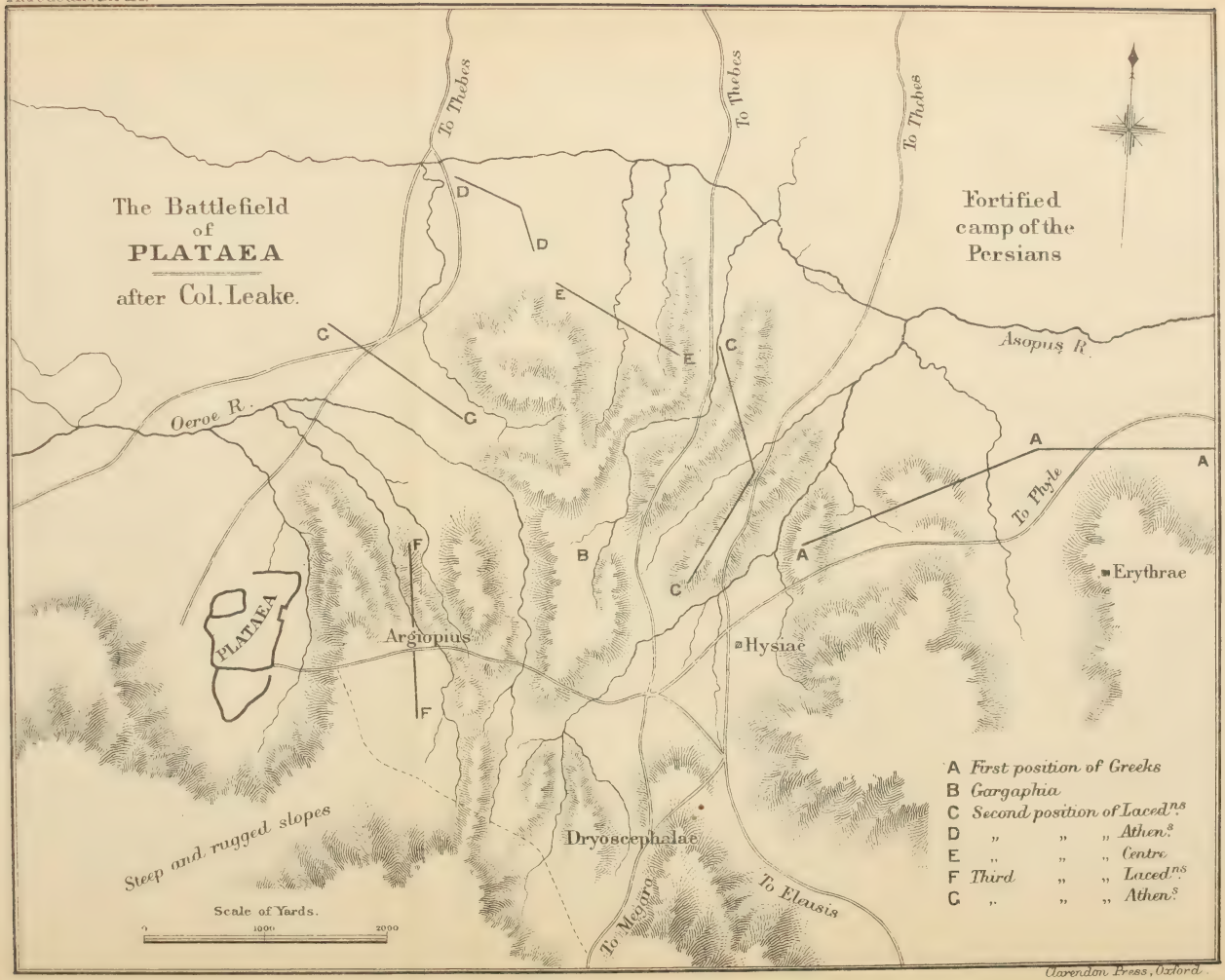
(*c*) Forms from *οἶδα* are *οἶδας*—*ἴδμεν*—*οἴδασι*. Conj. *εἰδέω*. Opt. *εἰδείην*. Imperf. *ᾔδεα*—*ᾔδεε*—*ᾔδεατε*—*ᾔδεσαν*.

(*d*) Forms of *εἶμι* (*ibo*) Imperf. *ἤια*—*ἤιε*—*ἤισαν*.

(*e*) *Δείκνυμι* and *ζεύγνυμι* follow partly the conjugation in *μι* and partly that in *ω*.

THE END.

To Thebes
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